

VOLUME VIII

MARCH, 1930

NUMBER 3

SOCIAL FORCES

A Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation

CULTURE AND ENVIRONMENT BY L. L. BERNARD

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION: MYTH OR REALITY BY JESSE F. STEINER

COOLEY'S HERITAGE TO SOCIAL RESEARCH BY ROBERT C. ANGELL
OBSTACLES TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SCIENTIFIC SOCIOLOGY BY WILLIAM F. OGBURN

TOWARD PRELIMINARY SOCIAL ANALYSIS:

I. THE SOUTHERN MILL SYSTEM FACES A NEW ISSUE BY HARRIET L. HERRING

II. ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE GASTONIA SITUATION BY BENJAMIN U. RATCHFORD

EDUCATIONAL POLICY FOR STUDENT RESEARCH BY STUART A. RICE

DO DISASTERS HELP? BY J. BLAINE GWIN

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THE SEARCH AFTER VALUES BY HOWARD W. ODUM

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SOCIAL FORCES

A Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation

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SOCIAL FORCES

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THE SEARCH AFTER VALUES

A FRIEND has contributed a modest amount to constitute a beginning of an endowment fund for SOCIAL FORCES. A reasonable endowment, for the maintenance of SOCIAL FORCES in its present status and for raising its standard and extending its circulation, would presumably be a logical next step. SOCIAL FORCES, at the present, is one of the very few learned journals which has no subsidy or coöperative organizations back of it. It is true that the University of North Carolina contributes editorial and secretarial services and general overhead, and the Williams and Wilkins Company, publishers, put their organization behind it to make it a business paying proposition. It is true, also, that no editors, contributors, or anyone else connected with the editorial department receive any special remuneration for work done or articles contributed.

Comparison with the budgets devoted to many other similar journals indicates the desirability of establishing a reasonable reserve fund through which SOCIAL FORCES might be insured of a still larger usefulness and the necessary continuity. So far, in its seven years, no issue has failed to appear on time, and, in every instance, copy has gone in and proofs have been returned on the scheduled day. It is quite possible, however, in the future as SOCIAL FORCES expands and personnel changes, that it might become necessary to follow the procedure of many other magazines by providing for certain funds

for its maintenance. These funds may be obtained by a small endowment, by special appropriations, and by an increase in subscriptions. Readers and friends of SOCIAL FORCES are invited to contribute to the development of such an enlarged program.

One of the minor problems of producing and distributing such a journal is that of providing for exchanges and free copies. A large number of requests come from learned societies and agencies devoted to the promotion of social science and social research. Such organizations naturally expect liberal distribution of magazines and books, but, in the aggregate, the load for a single periodical is considerable. Exchanges with European journals and societies is also important but expensive. Some special income for these purposes would be well justified.

One of SOCIAL FORCES' regular contributors, suggesting methods of increasing subscriptions, writes: "Thank you. I want the 25 free copies, of course, but I think I shall require no more. Everyone who will read the article will do it in the Journal. Perhaps if we would send around fewer reprints, more people would subscribe! Personally, I have never sent anyone a reprint in my life. If they are interested, let 'em read the Journals. Whenever (which is seldom) anyone asks me for a reprint, I say, 'Why don't you subscribe for SOCIAL FORCES?'" Another suggests special effort on the part of present readers to insure SOCIAL FORCES'



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inclusion in both regular library subscriptions and in special seminar rooms and in club rooms.

* * * * *

William F. Ogburn's recent statistical study of the presidential election has resulted in many orders for the December issue. Incidentally, Professor Ogburn has received scores of letters commending and condemning his conclusions! His article in the current issue will also create considerable interest and comment much of which will, no doubt, be of a controversial nature. This is well. Professor Hornell Hart's discussion, in the "Library and Workshop" on "Three New Books on Social Research," also points out a number of features of the present day discussion of methods. The Social Science Research Council announces the publication, at an early date, of its *Case Book on Methods in the Social Sciences*, under the general editorship of Stuart A. Rice. The appointment by President Hoover of a number of such committees on research and investigation adds still more to the present interest in social research. Here again there will be much difference of opinions and attitudes on the part of the public and even among the research specialists themselves.

* * * * *

And discussions of differences of opinion suggests that the general central theme for the 1930 annual meeting of the American Sociological Society will be social conflict with, however, the understanding that special problems relating to teaching, research, experimental sociology, and others will not be excluded. Keeping in mind this general theme, joint programs are being arranged with a number of the sections and with other associations which may meet at the same time and place. One joint meeting will be with the rural group, in which certain aspects of the

conflict between rural and urban interests will be discussed. Another with the group on the family will treat of special researches in the nature of conflict between parents and children, husbands and wives, etc. It is proposed to have another joint meeting with the psychiatrists and psychologists dealing with themes in this general field selected by them.

One session may be devoted to the contributions on the subject of social conflict made by Charles Horton Cooley and Russell Smith, both of whom were particularly interested in the social process from this viewpoint. It is thought that such a meeting will not only be valuable in bringing their contribution to bear upon present situations, but will serve as a deserved tribute to these men.

Discussions with representatives of other associations have been begun, and it is hoped to have one or two major meetings devoted to a joint program between the American Sociological Society and the selected associations. Two or three eminent men in the field of public affairs have indicated their willingness to participate in such a program dealing with social conflict in national and international relations.

In the more specialized topics the general plan is to devote sessions to social research, to the teaching of sociology, and to experimental sociology, with, however, special papers to be prepared from research now being done and undertaken anew into problems of conflict. It will be the general policy of the Program Committee to emphasize three special points in the making of the program: One has to do with reducing the number of sessions and section meetings going on at one time and to integrate and unify the program, so far as possible, by the methods of coördination already mentioned. Another will be to assign not more than one major paper to any single individual. A third will be

By Kimball Young:

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and—

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

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the emphasis upon the close relationship between the American Sociological Society and other group meetings.

It is hoped that the present movement to have all of the annual meetings of the social sciences select Cleveland, where will be meeting also the A. A. A. S., will materialize. There are many advantages to such a plan which need not be enumerated here. Adequate hotel facilities have already been guaranteed.

Suggestions from members with reference to these and other matters will be welcomed.

* * * * *

In this issue of SOCIAL FORCES L. L. BERNARD, Professor of Sociology in Washington University, begins a series of three articles on "Culture and Environment" and continues his contributions to "Library and Workshop." He is the author of "Latin America" and the "United States" in the section on The Social Sciences as Disciplines in the first volume of the new *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, which has recently come from press. JESSE F. STEINER, Professor of Sociology in Tulane University, has just completed his term as President of the National Community Center Association. ROBERT COOLEY ANGELL, as a son of the University of Michigan and now a member of its faculty, is well qualified to present "Cooley's Heritage to Social Research." WILLIAM F. OGBURN, Professor of Sociology in the University of Chicago, is Director in President Hoover's Research Committee on Social Trends. His article on "A Measurement of the Factors in the Presidential Election of 1928," which was published in the December, 1929, issue of SOCIAL FORCES, has been the subject of extensive editorial comment. HARRIET L. HERRING, Research Associate in Social

Industrial Relations in the Institute for Research in Social Science in the University of North Carolina, will be remembered for her volume on *Welfare Work in Mill Villages: The Story of Extra-Mill Activities in North Carolina*. BENJAMIN U. RATCHFORD, a member of the faculty in the Department of Economics in Duke University, is a native of Gaston County, North Carolina. In this connection it is timely to report that Dr. J. J. Rhyne's new volume on *Some Cotton Mill Workers and Their Villages* is now in press. He is also a native of Gaston County, now of the University of Oklahoma, and will have an article in the next SOCIAL FORCES. STUART A. RICE, Professor of Sociology in the University of Pennsylvania, is the editor of a *Case Book on Methods in the Social Sciences* announced by the Social Science Research Council as now in press. READ BAIN's paper on "The Concept of Complexity in Sociology" is completed in this issue. He is Professor of Sociology in Miami University. W. A. ANDERSON, Professor of Sociology in the North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering, is Chairman of the Program Committee of the Division on Rural Sociology of the American Sociological Society. SANFORD R. WINSTON is Assistant Professor of sociology in the North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering. J. BLAINE GWIN is Staff Assistant to the Vice Chairman in the American National Red Cross. MORRIS G. CALDWELL, formerly district probation officer in Wisconsin, is now head of the Department of Sociology and Economics in Ashland College. BENJAMIN MALZBERG is Assistant Director of the Bureau of Statistics in the New York Department of Mental Hygiene. CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN, of the Department of Sociology in the University of Minnesota, is co-author

Watch for This Page in Each Issue, to Keep Informed on New Contributions to Fundamental Science

NEW AND FORTHCOMING BOOKS

This List Compiled March 10, 1930

PUBLISHED SINCE DECEMBER 1, 1929

BERGEY'S MANUAL OF DETERMINATIVE BACTERIOLOGY by DAVID H. BERGEY. \$6.00

Cloth, 6 x 9, xviii + 589 pages, index.

INFLUENCE OF HABIT ON THE FACULTY OF THINKING by KNIGHT DUNLAP. \$5.00

Cloth, 6 x 9, 227 pages.

THE PENICILLIA by CHARLES THOM \$10.00

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RESEARCH NARRATIVES—VOLUMES 1 and 2 edited by ALFRED FLINN each, \$1.00

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BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX OF AMERICAN ARTISTS by RALPH C. SMITH \$4.00

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COMMUNITY IN INFECTIOUS DISEASES by DR. A. BESSEDKA \$5.00

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FORTHCOMING

MECHANISM OF THE HEART AND ITS ANOMALIES translated by DR. LOUIS FAUGERAS BISHOP, to be published about March 1, probable price \$10.00.

EPHEDRINE AND RELATED SUBSTANCES by DR. K. K. CHEN and CARL F. SCHMIDT, to be published March 20, probable price, \$2.50.

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with Professor Pitirim Sorokin in the recently published, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*. In his sixth study on migrations to cities and towns, which appears in this issue, Professor Zimmerman was assisted by JOHN JAY CORSON, 3d, Research Assistant in the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences in the University of Virginia. HARVEY C. LEHMAN is teaching in Ohio University while PAUL A. WITTY is a member of the faculty in the University of Kansas. ROLAND B. EUTSLER is Instructor in Industry in the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce in the University of Pennsylvania. PETER COOPER is head of the Department of Philosophy and Psychology in Talladega College. RALPH FLETCHER is Instructor in Economics and Statistics in Washington University and MILDRED FLETCHER is in the catalog department of Washington University Library. LANE W. LANCASTER is Associate Professor in the Department of History and Government in Wesleyan University. HELEN LELAND WITMER, Director of Research in the Smith College School for Social Work, made her study of unemployment insurance in England while a fellow of the Social Science Research Council. GEORGE A. LUNDBERG, who is teaching in the University of Minnesota, will be remembered as the

author of *Social Research: A Study in Methods of Gathering Data*, a review of which appears in "Library and Workshop" of this issue. HORNE LL HART is Professor of Sociology and Acting Head of the Carola Woerishoffer Graduate Department of Social Economy and Social Research in Bryn Mawr College. In his contribution to this issue of SOCIAL FORCES he was assisted by DOROTHY HANKINS of Bryn Mawr College. MARY PHLEGAR SMITH is Research Assistant in Municipal Government in the Institute for Research in Social Science in the University of North Carolina. FRANK H. HANKINS, Professor of Sociology in Smith College, contributes again to "Library and Workshop." MAURICE T. PRICE, in the Department of Sociology in the University of Washington, is studying especially problems of the Far East. BERNHARD J. STERN is Assistant Professor of Sociology in the University of Washington. ENGLISH BAGBY is Professor of Psychology in the University of North Carolina. C. O. MUDGE has been for many years in administrative work in secondary education. INA V. YOUNG is in the Institute for Research in Social Science in the University of North Carolina. JOSEPH J. SPENGLER is in the Department of Economics in Ohio State University.

Continuing the policy of SOCIAL FORCES, the June issue will be built around the central theme of the relationship between sociology and social work. Contributed articles and discussions by prominent sociologists and social workers will be presented. Dr. M. J. Karpf, Chairman of the Section on Sociology and Social Work of the American Sociological Society, is getting the papers together and preparing them for publication. Departmental contributions and book reviews will also be in harmony with the central theme.

For other announcements and additional notes see pp. 367, 385, 401, 426, and 479 of this issue.

SOCIAL FORCES

March, 1930

CULTURE AND ENVIRONMENT

I. THE UNITY OF THE ENVIRONMENT

L. L. BERNARD

THERE is a strong recent tendency on the part of those who deal much with the concept of culture to place the concepts of environment and of culture in opposition and to think of them as mutually exclusive. This implied distinction between culture and environment is, in my opinion, essentially erroneous and is likely to be the source of much unscientific analysis and partisan or sectarian writing. Already the orthodox or strict culture interpretationists have erected the concept of culture into an underived *ultra qua non* similar to the soul, the old time free will, the first cause, logos, etc., which are prone to be used as axiomatic starting points in casuistical discourse and thus become the mothers of much error and of more intolerance. What the culture interpretationists have to defend apart from the concept of culture and the methodological independence of anthropology (which always has been annoyingly confused in subject matter and mixed in administrative control with sociology) I am unable to say. However, the concept of an underived cultural entity may possibly be regarded as a sort of substitute defense for routed biological determinists who can no longer appeal to instinct as the final explanation of the

genesis of human behavior and who must perforce transfer their system of causal explanation from a hereditary to an environmental basis. It is also perhaps an equally good substitute defense for those who were formerly worshippers at the shrines of custom and tradition, taking their oracular pronouncements as valid and final.

Perhaps it is useless, and somewhat psychoanalytical, to seek the motivation back of the culture entity or culture-in-a-vacuum dogma. If science ends in the discovery of the fact and eschews speculation as to the why of the fact, we may begin with this indubitable datum that the orthodox cultural interpretationists are loath to seek the origins of culture in environment and that they practically uniformly conceive of environment as natural environment. The evidence for the former assertion will appear in the course of this article. The recent work of R. B. Dixon, *The Building of Cultures* (1928), may be taken as an illustration of the truth of the latter statement. Dixon expressly limits the term environment to the physical,¹ specifying such phases of the natural environment as

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

climate, topography and raw materials² and geographic position.³ Practically the same limitation to the term environment is made by most of the other social anthropologists. Wallis speaks of the geographic environment, ignoring other forms.⁴ Goldenweiser criticises the environmentalist interpretations of culture of such men as Montesquieu, Taine, Buckle, Ratzel, Semple, and Huntington and specifies the factors of the environment—which he appears to regard as exclusively physical—as “climate, flora, fauna, geographical position.”⁵ Boas,⁶ Kroeber,⁷ and Lowie⁸ likewise confine their use of the term environment to the physical natural environment, although Kroeber at least recognizes a superorganic factor⁹ which might as well be termed environment as culture. Wissler¹⁰ also writes with the same limitation upon the concept of environment, dealing specifically with such natural environmental factors as “land and sea, climate, plant and animal life, etc.,”¹¹ but he also recognizes specifically the social environment under the more anthropological (as contrasted with sociological) term of “ethnic environment.”¹² This ethnic environment is the culture-carrying environment. Tribal groups react against each other and thus spread their culture. “Hence, the environment that really counts for most is the ethnic environment, the cul-

ture setting.”¹³ But even with this strong recognition of a social environment, there is no analysis of it by Wissler as environment, but only as culture.

In 1925 I published a paper¹⁴ designed to show that the concept of environment must be expanded to include not only the natural environment, but also a series of evolving and cumulative social or cultural environments, whose content is essentially the same as the culture” of the anthropologists. In this paper I offered what is in effect a theory of the origin of culture from the impact of one term in the natural environment (man) upon another term in this natural environment, the inorganic and organic worlds to which man must make his adjustment and which he must learn to control in order to survive and develop his culture. In 1926 I published another paper¹⁵ with the definite purpose of demonstrating the relationship between environment and culture, both as to their origin and as to their content. I wish in this paper to attempt to make more pointed and specific the argument for this

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 321. Lowie likewise speaks of the cultural environment, which he is inclined to regard as more important in shaping human behavior than the natural environment (*Culture and Ethnology*, p. 38). However he does not make active use of this concept of cultural environment as such in developing his theories.

¹⁴ “A Classification of Environments,” *Amer. Jour. of Sociol.*, XXXI: 318-332 (1925). See also *An Introduction to Social Psychology*, 1926, Ch. VI. This classification is in bare outline as follows: I. The Natural Environments; 1. Inanimate; 2. Organic. II. The Social or Cultural Environments; 1. The Physico-Social Environment; 2. The Bio-social Environment; 3. The Psycho-Social Environment; 4. The Derivative Control of Composite Social Environment.

¹⁵ “The Interdependence of Factors Basic to the Evolution of Culture,” *Amer. Jour. of Sociol.*, XXXII: 177-205 (1926). See also F. A. Cleveland (Ed.), *Modern Scientific Knowledge of Nature, Man and Society*, pp. 454-455.

² *Ibid.*, p. 13.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁴ *An Introduction to Anthropology* (1926), Ch. VII.

⁵ *Early Civilization* (1922), p. 292.

⁶ *The Mind of Primitive Man* (1911) pp. 161 ff.

⁷ *Anthropology* (1923), pp. 181 ff.

⁸ *Culture and Ethnology* (1917), Ch. III.

⁹ “The Superorganic,” *Amer. Anthropologist*, XIX: 163-213 (1917).

¹⁰ *Man and Culture* (1923), Ch. XV.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 321.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 321-325.

relationship, supported by an analysis and a criticism of the cultural and environmental concepts of the culture anthropologists.

There were at least three fundamental weaknesses of the old anthropogeography. One of these was its necessary disregard of the social environmental factors. Another was the inadequacy of its detailed analyses of the relation of the natural environment to behavior. A third weakness was that it lacked any adequate classification of the environments—even of the natural environmental factors—which would enable the student and the investigator readily to place or classify their data when procured. As a result of the first deficiency analyses were incomplete. Because of the second, the subject lacked concreteness and precision. This difficulty is in part now being removed by the more detailed field and laboratory analyses of the new school of human geographers. The third deficiency was the cause of a perennial confusion of the antecedents and conditioners of behavior. The writer recalls a long and fruitless controversy in his student days between his instructor and himself as to whether human behavior was to be interpreted "environmentally" or "psychologically." It is now clear that neither disputant understood adequately the contention of the other, simply because there was available no scheme of classification which would place, delimit, and define the two supposedly opposing concepts. As a matter of fact, the two concepts of behavior determination were not wholly distinct and unrelated, when viewed from the standpoint of a more inclusive classification of environments, but were (as used by the two contestants) very decidedly assimilable. The difficulty was that there was no schema available for bringing about this accommodation and partial assimilation of the two con-

cepts. The classification of environments published in 1925 was designed to provide such a schema.

In this classification I separated the natural from the social or cultural environments, not because environment as a whole suddenly ceases to be "natural" and becomes all at once "artificial" or "cultural," but because I wished to illustrate the fact that man, in his struggle to make an effective adjustment to his world, creates new environment as a means to this end. It is in this way that he learns to control his environment. The environment to which he must adjust thus becomes decreasingly "natural" and increasingly "artificial" and "cultural" or "social." Thus he creates environment to be used as a tool in the control of his world and he creates incidentally and cumulatively a new environment to which it is easier for him to make adjustment and which it is easier for him to control because, for the most part, this environment has been created to meet his needs and it has been created as a tool. Of course there are incidental phases of this environment, by-products and unanticipated developments, as it were, which may produce complications in his cultural environmental evolution and which possibly may interfere with the adequacy or the facility of his adjustment to and control of (really one and the same process viewed from opposite angles) his world. The danger that the utilization of modern technical inventions may be used in warfare for the destruction of civilization is a good example of the unexpected and incidental results of the human creation of environment. The creation of new cultural or social environments is itself at first a process purely incidental to the more fundamental process of adjustment to the environments previously existing. The behaviorist sees

all human activity as a phase of adjustment, or of the reciprocal interrelationships of organisms and environments.¹⁶ The creation of social or cultural environments is at first merely incidental to this reciprocal interrelationship, but with the development of thinking and language as phases of this incidental development, the purposive or projective creation of cultural or social environment to be used consciously as tools or means to the control of the adjustment process may and does come into play in the adjustment situation.

It is scarcely necessary of course to say that it is not intended to imply that primitive man worked out the theory of all this process of the creation of cultural environments as tools and as means to the modification of the relatively hard and austere natural environments before he started to work to accomplish the results he has achieved. In a behavioristic interpretation of social phenomena there is no definite dividing line between the purposive and the non-purposive whereby to separate them into two distinct kingdoms of human action. Such a separation is the work of metaphysical logic, not of human experience. Moreover, consciousness does not come suddenly into the adjustment process and radically transform it. It also is a gradual growth and, where it functions constructively and intelligently instead of destructively and emotionally, it appears to be correlated with a refinement and further particularization of the adjustment process. When the adjustment process could be slower and could work by generations rather than by individuals, in the pre-human days of the world, it seems to have occurred largely through the mechanism of

natural selection. But individual habit modifications appear even then to have been important in mediating differential adjustments to the environments. When habits became conscious and conceptual or verbal with the development of some sort of symbolizing and objectivating technique, that is, some sort of language, the adaptation of the organism to the environment began to pass decisively from the subjective (the modification of inheritance and of neuro-muscular habit merely) to the objective (the permanent and conserved modification of the environment transmitted through language symbolization) phase. The development of verbal communication or language symbolization aided greatly in the maintenance of these external and environmental modifications or in the creation and perpetuation of culture.¹⁷ It is not necessary to suppose that all the persons concerned knew what was happening in the production of artificial or cultural environment, or even that any one realized the wider and more ultimate significance of the process at these earlier stages of the control of adjustment through tradition. Relatively few persons in our present civilization have achieved with any degree of adequacy this second realization or power of objectifying the process through the philosophic or scientific utilization of language. But, at whatever stage it occurred, this external modification of the environment, whether unconscious or conscious, whether its social significance was understood or not, was an invention; and invention, or the adaptive modification of the environment of man, has now become a recognized and honored profession.

It was by means of invention that the original natural environments were modified and new cultural or artificial environ-

¹⁶ Cf. M. Basov, "Structural Analysis in Psychology from the Standpoint of Behavior," *Jour. of Genetic Psy.*, XXXVI: 267-290 (1929).

¹⁷ Cf. "Neuro-Psychic Technique," *Psy. Review*, XXX: 407-437 (1923).

ments were created. These artificial environments varied in character according to the materials out of which they were constructed. Out of the inorganic materials of the natural (and later of the artificial) environments, and out of the organic materials rendered inorganic through the process of utilization, was created a physico-social or material cultural environment. This environment began at first as tools, shelter, ornaments, and later evolved into machines, the equipment for transportation and communication, cities, etc. Out of living things, not transformed into inorganic materials by the process of utilization, was created a biosocial environment, or a cultural of behavior and performance rather than a culture of things. This field of culture lies between the material and the non-material culture of the culture classificationists and its presence would seem to make necessary a four-fold classification of culture, to take the place of the old dual classification into material and non-material culture, somewhat as follows:¹⁸

1. Cultural objects

- (1) Material objects or things (involving changes of form or of content)
- (2) Symbolical objects (involving objectivated symbolic behavior such as art and written language)

2. Cultural behavior

- (1) Overt behavior (neuro-muscular adjustment forms)
- (2) Inner behavior (neuro-psychic adjustment or symbolical behavior forms in action)

This second phase of cultural environment, the bio-social, is produced by means of the breeding and training of plants and animals and includes, under the category

of training, both domestication and education. To these processes we do not ordinarily apply the term invention, since by precedent and practice we have been accustomed to limit the application of the concept invention to direct modification of inanimate things or cultural objects rather than of living beings and their cultural behavior. Thus we speak of invention when we make new modifications of significance in the inanimate physical environment or in the organizations of symbols. We approximate the application of the term invention to modifications of behavior when we plan or put into administrative functioning a new organization of human relationships, but in this last case the emphasis seems to be primarily upon the plan or system of behavior; rather than upon the behavior itself. These three types of inventions have been denominated physical, method (methodological), and social inventions.¹⁹

The two types of cultural modification of the environment indicated above—physico-social and bio-social—were originally visible modifications of the inorganic and organic natural environments and have remained visible modifications of the form and content of the material objects, or of the behavior of living things corresponding to categories 1, (1) and 2, (1) of the classification of culture suggested above. In both cases the transformation is essentially objective and visible. A third type of environmental transformation or cultural creation is essentially symbolical. It began in the subjective modification of the adaptive behavior of the individual who was under the necessity of making a more refined adjustment to his environment, which would at the same time be coadaptive or social. Language undoubtedly had its beginnings in the process of

¹⁸ Cf. "Neuro-Psychic Technique," loc. cit.; also *Instinct: A Study in Social Psychology* (1924) Chs. V and VI, and *An Introduction to Social Psychology* (1926), Ch. X, for underlying statements of this point of view by the author.

¹⁹ "Invention and Social Progress," *Amer. Jour. of Sociol.*, XXIX: 1-33 (1923).

natural selection or the modification of inheritance, but it has had preëminently its greatest development as a phase of acquired modification of behavior. As long as language remained in the gesture and vocal phases it was essentially a form of behavior and was to be grouped under the second or bio-social phase of environment corresponding to category 2, (2) of our culture classification scheme. Of course, in large measure it is to be classified there still, for most communication remains in the gesture and vocal stage. But the most advanced and socially significant environmental aspects of language are in its objectivated or symbolical forms (symbolical cultural objects, corresponding to category 1, (2) of our culture classification scheme), and in this aspect it really constitutes a third most important phase of social or cultural environment. I have called it psycho-social environment, because its roots are psychic and subjective rather than material and objective.

In its phases distinct from the bio-social environment, out of which it grew, this psycho-social environment has developed into several successive forms. Inclusive of the symbolical element in both the behavior and post-behavior or symbolically objectivated aspects, the chief forms of the psycho-social environment or culture may be represented in a condensed manner as follows:

Gesture language	} when meanings are standardized
Vocal language	
Written language	

Traditions, beliefs, etc.—composite residual vocalizations (having quasi independence of carriers)

Art in all its forms	} Objectivated symbolic language content, (having actual independence of carriers)
Philosophic discourse	
Scientific discourse	
Creeds, codes, systems.	
etc.	

Museums, art galleries
Libraries
Periodical press

Collections of objectivated symbolic language content (condensers and carriers of all the above)

This as a whole is what the culture classificationists call non-material culture and what I have indicated under the second subdivision of each of the two general types of culture suggested in my proposed revision of the classification of the types of culture (1, (2), 2, (2)). It partakes of both of these major divisions of culture because in the long process of its evolution it develops from the subjective or internal behavior phase to an objectivated or super-organic and super-object phase. In this second stage of objectivated development it does not itself consist of material objects, but is carried by material objects, usually of an inanimate character, just as in the first stage of development it is carried by living objects who manifest its symbolic meaning through their behavior.

In my classification of social or cultural environments I have included a fourth phase of artificial environment, which I have called the derivative control environment. It is in the main institutional in character and is a composite of the other three artificial environments, and even of as much of the natural environments as may survive untransformed to the stage of institutionalization and as can at the same time be integrated into a social control system. This environment is primarily conceptual in character and its function is to serve as a system of norms, expressed primarily through its psycho-social or symbolical content for the standardization and regulation or control of the coadaptive or social adjustment behavior of individuals in the presence of their environment. The physico-social and bio-social phases of his environment, in so far as they are included in the in-

stitution which directs his adjustment, serve as means to the adjustment. Important examples of these lower forms of the social environment are the material equipment and administrative organization of the directive institution. The psycho-social environment may consist of such important elements as constitutions, laws, creeds, codes, traditions, beliefs, scientific knowledge and principles, etc. This phase of the cultural environment is distinct from the other phases only in a functional sense, but this functional integration constitutes it a new and distinct phase of culture.

It is not possible to determine exactly when each of these four phases of culture began its existence. It is certain that in their more primitive forms all are very ancient. Nor is there any intention to maintain that each type of culture thus evolved is wholly distinct from and unlike the other forms. In their beginnings they are very closely related, but in their more developed aspects the lines of distinction become more marked, but never absolute. The point selected for emphasis here is that all of these phases of culture developed originally out of the old natural environments as a result of man's attempt to make more successful adjustments to these natural environments. If today each additional increment to culture is the result of an adaptive transformation of previously constructed cultural environments, it is because man has so far progressed in his adaptive and transforming adjustment to his environment that he lives primarily and most immediately in a world of culture, that is, in an artificial or socially created environment, and only secondarily or derivatively in a natural environment. The derivation of the physico-social and the bio-social environments from the natural environments in the manner here described is easily enough understood.

But when it is recalled that the psycho-social environment begins in language and that language begins in behavior, even in instinctive behavior, the analogous naturalistic derivation of this environment likewise is made clear. The derivative control environment, primarily of institutions, being made up of functional integrations of the other three cultural environments must therefore be ultimately derivable from the natural environments.

If the foregoing are facts rather than fancies—and surely they are easily observable and demonstrable facts—how can it be said that culture is an underived social entity? Nor is there any other method of deriving culture from environment than that of invention, although culture when thus derived obviously may be transmitted by borrowing. I do not mean to contend that any culture interpretationist makes verbal denial of these facts. The denial is only by implication based largely on their limitation of the concept of environment to the natural environment, as demonstrated above. Of course, it might be asserted, in contravention of the viewpoint here presented, that culture proceeds from revelation, or that it is the result of the human reason uncovering the natural laws that are inherent in the universe, of some sort of innate ideas,²⁰ or, finally that it is the result of the maturing of our inherent or instinctive powers and potentialities.²¹ In the past such contentions have been made with the intention of "confounding" such a "materialistic" doctrine of culture as that set forth

²⁰ Bastian did actually hold to a theory of innate or elementary ideas. See Boas, *Mind of Primitive Man*, p. 159 and Barnes, *History and Prospects of the Social Sciences* (1925), p. 211.

²¹ Possibly Wissler's "drive to produce cultures," which he finds in man's protoplasm and which "carries him forward even against his will" may belong to this instinctive category (*Man and Culture*, p. 265).

above. It is scarcely to be believed, however, that the modern culture interpretationists are so tied up in their sympathies or by their training with these old

theological and metaphysical systems of explanation of a pre-scientific age of thought as consciously to offer any one of them in defense of their tacit viewpoints.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION: MYTH OR REALITY?

JESSE FREDERICK STEINER

IN A paper written a year ago entitled "An Appraisal of the Community Movement," I made a statement to the effect that the changed conditions growing out of improved means of transportation and communication were bringing into the limelight new problems which were making ineffective if not obsolete many of the older programs of community organization. Under the stress of these new forces, it was pointed out, the old emphasis upon local neighborhood solidarity was shifting to the region as a unit of increasing significance. This statement of the newer trends in the community movement has provoked some criticism especially from those whose philosophy of community organization has been bound up with the problem of neighborhood reconstruction. It is quite evident from the criticisms that have been made that the whole issue is still more or less clouded by hazy conceptions of what is involved in the field of community organization. This particular aspect of the community movement was discussed very inadequately in the paper referred to above which was concerned primarily with a historical analysis of its growth and an appraisal of its chief activities. For this reason a supplemental statement seems in order with chief emphasis upon the actual rôle of community organization and its adaptation to the requirements of the present situation.

One of the first difficulties faced by students of community organization is the confusion of thought and difference of opinion concerning its purpose and field of work. After two decades of attempts to define the community we are still debating whether it is a locality or a state of mind. Those who emphasize its geographical aspects have reached no consensus of opinion concerning the distinguishing marks which indicate whether a particular area such as a town or city or section of a city may properly be called a community. On the other hand, those interested in the psychical factors in community life add to the confusion by assuming that community is a quality to be achieved rather than a locality to be defined.

This ambiguity in the meaning of the term community is fully paralleled by wide divergences in the theory and practice of community organization. Out of the varied gropings to develop a more effective approach to community problems there gradually emerged different types of activities sponsored by local and national organizations that seemed to have little in common except their emphasis upon the importance of the community as a social unit. While these widely different programs could not always be easily differentiated from earlier attacks upon social problems, they did represent a new point of view and were remarkably effective in their popular appeal. Community

having become a term to conjure with, community organization gained recognition as an essential device in a well rounded program of social and civic improvement. Social centers supported and patronized by a limited constituency sought to extend their influence by becoming community centers. Federations of social agencies assumed the more euphonious name of community councils. Machinery for joint-finance of social agencies gained prestige and strengthened its money raising power by being rechristened a community chest. Social surveys were renamed community studies without any fundamental changes in their technique or scope. As community organization became more securely established, its goal was still further confused by the efforts of various agencies to modify or at least restate their programs in accord with the aims of the community movement. In fact, so widespread was this tendency that community organization in its more general usage became a blanket term covering almost any sort of organized activity within a community.

Fortunately the vague and somewhat mystical conceptions of the community which have been largely responsible for the confused ideas concerning community organization are being superseded by a return to the common sense meaning of community as an area of common life. In its broadest sense community, as Park and Burgess have well stated, "is the term which is applied to societies and social groups where they are considered from the point of view of the geographical distribution of the individuals and institutions of which they are composed."¹ When community is defined in this way it may include such diverse units as a nation, a state, a city, or a rural village, and is

sharply differentiated from such categories as social classes, races, political parties, sects, and other groups that do not find geographical expression. In harmony with this fundamental conception, a community may be regarded in a more limited sense as made up of groups of people living in a more or less continuous area so situated with reference to other places that social organization in one form or another arises inevitably within it in order to provide for mutual protection and welfare. Stated more briefly the minimum essentials for community are (1) a locality occupied by (2) people who devise some sort of (3) communal organization to further their interests. It is by means of these three criteria that we are able to identify a community and define its limits. In all these elements of communal life it is quite apparent that there may be wide variations which lead inevitably to the development of varied types of communities. The people comprising the community may be few or many, the area they inhabit may be large or small, and their communal organization may vary from the most informal efforts to act together to the highly institutionalized form of government of a modern city complicated by its confusing network of agencies and functionaries both public and private. In all cases the type of community can be clearly indicated by the use of descriptive terms such as urban, rural, Negro, industrial, or whatever other words may be required to accomplish this purpose. As a matter of fact, this device is in accord with common practice and is all that is needed to avoid ambiguity provided there is always implied a locality or area as a frame of reference.

But however important may be this structural conception of the community as a geographical unit, its essential nature

¹ *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, p. 163.

stands revealed only when it is seen in action functioning as a communal organization. We get a community by virtue of the fact that in a certain area there is going on a communal life organized in behalf of common interests. This communal organization as we observe it in a particular region and in a particular epoch of history is fairly well standardized and exhibits in general few variations except those arising from differences in size and local situational factors. Its first concern is with the fundamental needs of the people and in a typical American community leads to the development of a local government with its police system, public school, fire department, and other public activities that fall within the traditional pattern. Not perhaps so obvious but nevertheless equally significant is the organization of industry, trade, and other economic institutions which are an essential part of the life of a community. Along with this formal governmental and economic organization there arise inevitably the various types of voluntary organizations concerned with the development and regulation of industry, business, education, religion, recreation, and other fields of human interest. These group organizations may be for the benefit of members only as a country club or a fraternal lodge; or they may possess a quasi-public function as a Rotary or other social club with interest in civic problems; or they may be designed to advance the interests of the community as a whole such as a juvenile protective association, a Red Cross chapter, or a chamber of commerce. This communal organization, which includes the local government with its different departments and activities, the local institutions built around the major interests of the people, and the wide variety of organizations sponsored by special groups, is a natural and inescap-

able function of the community and of course existed long prior to the development of the modern community organization movement.

With this conception of the community and its communal life before us, the rôle of community organization can be seen in a better perspective. This modern movement, however divergent may be its concrete manifestations, may be described as primarily an effort to utilize greater intelligence and social vision in perfecting the traditional patterns of this communal organization outlined above. Community organization has arisen out of the conviction that community machinery has not functioned properly in the interests of the people as a whole. Its purpose is to give greater efficiency to communal organization by making the institutions and devices of which it is composed more adaptable and responsive to the natural and actual changes in the growth of the community in so far as they are predictable and controllable. The earlier emphasis upon social settlements, social centers, playgrounds, and federations of social agencies grew out of a new realization of the inadequate functioning of large cities in respect to such matters as the living conditions of the lower economic classes, proper provision for a more wholesome use of leisure time, and a more efficient organization of social and civic agencies. The large variety of experiments in community organization that developed in response to this civic awakening set in motion constructive forces that are not merely improving conditions in large cities but have extended their influence to all types of communities.

But however valuable have been the results of these first efforts of community workers, rapidly changing conditions make necessary new points of attack beyond the confines of its earlier and more

limited field. Our new conceptions of the community provide a basis for community organization far more fundamental and comprehensive than was possible in the past. It is now more clearly realized that efforts to improve community life are closely bound up with such considerations as trends in population, changes in industrial organization, and the adaptation of the technique of government to the present situation. Under the stimulus of modern community studies, the limitations of the earlier efforts to deal with community problems become more apparent and there is indicated the necessity of more far reaching programs.

This consciousness of inadequacy in the functioning of communal organization, which was first emphasized by social workers, has in recent years been increasingly shared by leaders in other fields of community life. Associations of commerce, federations of churches, city planning and zoning commissions, and city managers have applied themselves vigorously to the task of bringing about more intelligent direction of communal affairs in their several fields of interest. Through efforts of this kind the scope of community organization has been extended so as to cover the whole range of community problems. Its distinguishing marks are its social vision, its comprehensive point of view, and its constant effort to judge critically existing organizations in order to improve their programs and stimulate the development of needed activities for which no adequate provision has been made. Its contribution lies more in the field of planning and improved technique of organization and administration than in the actual organization of the community. The building-up of machinery designed to promote coöperation and correlation, the initiation of new methods, and the improvement of existing agencies and institutions represent the kinds of

activities in which community organization has been interested. The continued use of the term, community organization, to designate these activities is not entirely appropriate since its natural and more obvious meaning suggests something quite different from the types of programs that have ordinarily been carried on under its name.

One of the implications that follow from this statement of the rôle of community organization is that in the course of its history it has developed no distinctive technique of its own markedly different from that made use of in dealing with other problems of organization. Failure to recognize clearly this fact has caused much confusion in our thinking. There is a basic technique of organization that is common to all formal efforts to band together in behalf of mutual interests. When actual techniques are analyzed and described in detail, no important differences are found in the problems of organization faced by an associated charities, a council of social agencies, a recreation center, or a chamber of commerce. Their lines of demarcation are determined by their respective fields of work and not by the fundamental techniques used in making effective the work of their staffs or in gaining the support of the wider public. Whatever minor differences in skills may characterize the work of community organizers, they are not of such a specialized nature that they furnish the foundation for the development of a separate profession. From the point of view of social work techniques, the contribution of community organization consists more in its emphasis upon the technique and problems of organization shared by social workers generally than in its development of a technique so specialized that it would constitute a major division of social work.

When community organization is

viewed not as a new method or type of organization but rather as an effort to use greater intelligence and skill in the direction and control of communal affairs, the wide variety of its programs can easily be understood. One of the important discoveries in recent years is that the community is a growth, and like any organic body it can be directed and controlled only by means of devices and methods flexible enough to meet the vast variety of situations which are in a constant state of transition. The success of community organization, therefore, depends upon the ability of its leaders to adjust their programs to a changing world. Because of its very nature it must always be sensitive to community needs, but what is even more fundamental it must be able to formulate new goals in keeping with changing conditions and advancing knowledge. If the community organization movement seems to have less vitality and significance than in former years, it is because it has in its objectives scarcely moved beyond the goals it set for itself a generation ago. That this is not an unwarranted criticism is apparent when we recall the failure to adjust its programs to the requirements of an era of great mobility. While there appears to be full recognition of the rapid breakdown of community isolation under modern conditions of transportation, little headway is being made in planning intelligently for communities whose problems are becoming more and more bound up with the regions of which they are a part. Community organization which was oriented with reference to the neighborhood now finds itself under the necessity of reorienting itself to the region. The outside reach of the community and its relationship to the adjoining territory are the new types of problems that are coming into the foreground of attention.

In any modern program of community organization careful consideration must be given to such matters as the extension of community boundaries, coöperation with adjoining communities, and the building up of community machinery fully equipped to deal with these wider issues.

Among the significant steps already taken in solving problems of this kind are the regional surveys of large cities and their environs designed not merely to promote more intelligent planning of metropolitan areas but also to lay the ground-work for their more effective administration. Further examples of the trends in this direction are the establishment of sanitary districts extending far beyond the corporate limits of large cities, the efforts to solve modern traffic problems through the organization of transportation districts, the wide reaching plans for the development of industrial regions, and the efforts to devise a type of regional government for the territory surrounding towns and cities that will provide a maximum of participation in the advantages of the urban center without imposing impracticable burdens upon those living within and without the corporate limits. Closely bound up with these governmental problems is the adjustment of voluntary agencies and organizations in the city to the needs of this wider constituency. Recent developments in rural organization indicate the necessity of large administrative areas as the most practicable means of dealing with the problems of the open country. Concrete evidence of the trend in this direction is the development of consolidated schools, the organization of county departments of public welfare and county-wide private social service agencies, and the establishment of special districts for the more economical administration of such institutions as jails, hospitals, and almshouses.

This effort to adjust the communal organization of the past to an era of great mobility and rapid transportation has already gone far enough to indicate the wide departure from the earlier goals of community work. Social settlements, community centers, institutional churches, and similar devices established during the past generation to prevent the disintegration of the neighborhood as a social unit no longer occupy the center of the stage. The social survey of a community which has been for so many years a favorite tool of community workers has been forced into the background both by new methods of social research and by the increased efficiency of governmental agencies and departments in furnishing a constant stream of information about local conditions that was formerly far less accessible. Federations of social agencies and community chests still have their place in any plan of community betterment but our attention is turning to the possibilities of a larger assumption of responsibility for public welfare by local governments and a more fundamental solution of some of the most pressing community problems through far reaching schemes of social insurance administered by the state or nation. It is not implied of course that this older approach to community organization has lost all its usefulness. Attention is simply being called to the fact that the onward rush of new conditions is bringing in new devices and methods to supplement those no longer well adapted to the present situation.

It is extremely unfortunate that a considerable number of influential leaders in the community movement seem to regard

these new trends as constituting a distinct break with the work to which they have been devoted in the past. Those who have been interested in the rebuilding of neighborhoods and the development of community centers find it difficult to reformulate their programs and adjust their activities to a world in which the region is becoming a natural unit of increasing importance. The national associations that have historically been most directly concerned with the promotion of community organization are in the face of modern developments abdicating their leadership to other organizations. With their field of interest still largely limited to the earlier social work aspects of community organization, responsibility for dealing with the new community problems now looming above the horizon is falling upon city planners, city managers, sanitary engineers, social research specialists, and other progressive civic leaders who see beyond the immediate present.

If the community organization movement is to continue to be the same vitalizing force that it was in a similar crisis a generation ago, it must address itself to the new problems that are arising and be prepared to fight for recognition and support as it did in the past. The hesitant steps that are being taken in this direction furnish new evidence of the slow adjustment of even the most forward looking institutions and movements. The community organization of the past reluctantly fades away into a myth while other activities and programs more vitally related to the present situation seek to establish themselves as constructive forces in a constantly changing world.

COOLEY'S HERITAGE TO SOCIAL RESEARCH

ROBERT C. ANGELL

WITH the passing of a great scholar it is well to consider not only the nature and value of his contributions, but also the principles upon which he believed future research should be based. There can be no doubt of the lasting importance of Charles Horton Cooley's writings, and there will be no failure among sociologists to appreciate his eminence. Indeed in his lifetime, because of the just estimate of his colleagues, he achieved a recognition which too often comes only posthumously. It is natural that, in reviewing his work, his positive contributions to social theory should receive the principal share of attention, particularly as his thoughts on social research are scattered in five separate papers.¹ And yet it is perhaps particularly pertinent at this time of prolific writing and heated debate on questions of social research to inquire what were his tenets in this field.

Some will perhaps object that Professor Cooley was hardly an authority on methods of social research since he did very little of what is ordinarily regarded as research himself. It is true that his principal work was the setting forth of carefully developed hypotheses regarding the nature and working of social life. This equipped him in two ways, however, to make pronouncements relative to social

research worth serious consideration. In the first place, anyone who has had depth of insight sufficient to produce such significant hypotheses must necessarily have valuable ideas relative to the testing of them. Secondly, the method of the theorist is not essentially different from that of the research worker; the difference lies in the size of the field in which the two sorts of scientists work. Professor Cooley immersed himself in the material of social life before working out the principles which he set forth. His sources were partly secondary, it is true, much of his insight coming from the writings of the great observers and interpreters of social life through the ages; yet on the other hand much came from his own direct observation. It is in point perhaps to mention his *A Study of the Early Use of Self-Words by a Child*. It seems to the writer that many who so easily condemn "arm chair sociology" fail to realize that it is only by such work that the guiding lines are laid down which make possible fruitful research in less extensive areas of social phenomena. Professor Cooley's contribution in this way to sociology is very like that to psychology of one from whom he drew much inspiration, William James.

The central principle in all that Professor Cooley wrote is that the essential facts of social life are mental. The overt conduct of persons and groups and the forms in which institutions are clothed are simply precipitations of the more fundamental mental phenomena. It is only in minds, which are the *loci* of the human adjustment process, that the social reality can be apprehended in all its complexity. What appears on the surface is an inade-

¹Ch. XXXIII, "Social Science" in *Social Process*; "The Roots of Social Knowledge," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXII, 59-79; "Case Study of Small Institutions as a Method of Research," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XXII, 123-132 and in *Personality and the Social Group* (E. W. Burgess, Ed.) pp. 181-91; "The Life-Study Method as Applied to Rural Social Research," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XXIII, 248-54; "Sumner and Methodology," *Sociology and Social Research*, XII, 303-6.

quate reflection of what is going on within. The mind of the human being and the processes of human interaction are evolutionary emergents precisely because no entities less complex could bring about anything so elaborately organized as social life.

In his opinion, then, social research must concern itself with bringing order out of the chaos of this mental-social life, "Much would-be social science seeks to dodge the mental and emotional processes in which society consists, to circumvent them, find them superfluous, arrive at social truth without them. This is pseudo-science; in the end it will not work; these phenomena are nature; there is no substitute; if we are to have a science it must advance through them, not around them."² Not only are the basic phenomena mental, but "any real study of society must be first last and nearly all the time a study of process."³ "If we study facts of mere structure it is always in the hope of getting light on the life facts to which they are related. . . . A research concerning the attitudes of immigrants has in view, I suppose, a better eventual understanding of the life-changes which come with the mingling of races, nationalities and cultures."⁴

Professor Cooley's chief concern with methodology was to show that the principal method of studying these mental processes arising from human interaction must be sympathetic insight. The sociologist "should know his groups as Mr. Bryce came to know America, with a real intimacy, due to long and considerate familiarity with individuals, families, cities and manifold opinions and traditions."⁵ He was brought to this con-

clusion by two considerations: First, since he believed that "a working methodology is a residue from actual research, a tradition of laboratories and work in the field,"⁶ and since he regarded works like Thomas and Znaniecki's *Polish Peasant* as the most valuable sociological contributions yet made, he was of the opinion that this type of approach was the most promising. Second, he was skeptical of the value of work which relies solely upon that which is outwardly manifested. He never denied that the overt behavior is extremely significant, but he felt that we must see it in its true setting of mental processes before its full significance can be appreciated. L

As to the channels into which this sympathetic perception should be directed, Professor Cooley believed that nothing adequate could be done without making life studies of the chief agents involved in any social complex. We "must give 'revealing instances' about which the reader may build a lifelike and just conception of what is going on. This means selection of those events which are essential, that reveal the critical functions, the high spots as it were. Only the indispensable must be shown."⁷ And again, "the insights of sociology . . . are imaginative reconstructions of life whose truth depends upon the competence of the mind that makes them to embrace the chief factors of the process studied and reproduce or anticipate their operation."⁸

Just because he believed sympathetic insight to be our chief reliance in social research, Professor Cooley did not overlook the auxiliary value of the study of more tangible data as such. "I would not wish to abate that ardor for measurement

¹ *Life and the Student*, p. 154.

² *Social Process*, p. 396.

³ *Case Study of Small Institutions*, p. 124.

⁴ *Social Process*, p. 402.

⁵ *Summer and Methodology*, p. 305.

⁶ *Life-Study Method*, p. 251.

⁷ *Roots of Social Knowledge*, p. 77.

which is so healthy a trait of recent work. Many kinds of observation must be quantitative in order to be precise. . . ."⁹ "On its affirmative side the quantitative ideal—measure everything you can—is admirable; on its negative side—deal with nothing you cannot measure—I believe it to be obstructive."¹⁰ There are two more or less distinct sets of phenomena which can be subjected to the method of extensive abstract observation and statistical analysis: opinions, attitudes, and other mental attributes on the one hand; and overt acts and culture traits on the other. In both these fields Professor Cooley felt that valuable work could be and was being done. He would have heartily approved, for instance, research experiments such as suggested in a recent article by Mr. Lawrence Frank.¹¹ He appeared to be in full accord with the application of statistical techniques in the writer's *A Study in Undergraduate Adjustment*. In this case an attempt was made to preserve the "wholeness" of the cases by using the statistical method only after the subjects had been classified into personality types. On the other hand he was sharply critical of the inappropriate employment of statistics. "The insistence on the quantitative where it is out of place is one source of that laborious futility not uncommon in certain lines of research."¹²

Believing that "our study should enable us to discern underneath the apparent confusion of things the working of enduring principles of human nature and social process, simplifying the movements for us by revealing its main currents,"¹³ Pro-

fessor Cooley gave many hints relative to the attainment of this object. "We need something new, something that combines the insight of literature with the disinterestedness and factual truth of science."¹⁴ "I take it that the ideal for sociology is to extend the behavior record to all the essential acts of man, making them intelligible, imaginable, predictable. Conceived in this way the technique of sociology will consist partly in some sort of description, at once exact and dramatic, analagous to the motion pictures of Köhler."¹⁵ Following the same line of thought he concludes "The social behavior of man is . . . for the most part so subtle, so complex, and so little confined to time or place that the only technique adequate to describe and record it is that of language."¹⁶ He points out that the language record may be used either as objective data (*The Polish Peasant*) or as an instrument of record. In the latter case it must be refined into an exact, disciplined tool.

Believing that true behaviorism is "the study of life from the standpoint of organic process" and that "behavioristic knowledge . . . must exist in wholes or it does not exist at all,"¹⁷ Professor Cooley felt that "the phenomena of life are often better distinguished by pattern than by quantity. Those who are striving to make sociology an exact science might well give more attention to the method of pattern comparison. [This was in effect what was suggested in Mr. Frank's article referred to above.] . . . Measurement is only one kind of precision. Yet what could be more precise, as a record of visible behavior, than a motion picture? . . .

⁹ *Case Study of Small Institutions*, p. 125.

¹⁰ *Life-Study Method*, p. 249.

¹¹ "Personality and Rank Order," *American Journal of Sociology*, September 1929, p. 177.

¹² *Case Study of Small Institutions*, p. 125.

¹³ *Social Process*, p. 403.

¹⁴ *Life-Study Method*, p. 251.

¹⁵ *Case Study of Small Institutions*, p. 126.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 124. The close parallel to Gestalt psychology is obvious.

Its precision is total, not incremental, a matter of patterns rather than of minute differences in space. Our instruments of precision should be such as to record living wholes, not such as to reduce them to lifeless units."¹⁸

It is obvious from the foregoing that Professor Cooley regarded social science as fundamentally different from material, or as he called it spatial, science. As a matter of fact this was one of the few points upon which this philosophic and usually calm man showed great strength of feeling. With all the love for sociology which came from years of devoted service to it, he could not watch with complacency attempts "to make it a physical science." "It is their (the social sciences') unique privilege to approach life from the point of view of conscious and familiar partaking of it. This involves unique methods which must be worked out independently. The sooner we cease circumscribing and testing ourselves by the canons of physical and physiological science the better. Whatever we do that is worth while will be done by discarding alien formulas and falling back upon our natural bent to observation and reflection. Going ahead resolutely with these we shall work out methods as we go."¹⁹ He felt, partly on the basis of his reflection upon the recent trend in physics, "that the idea of the quantitative having an exclusive claim to be the true or perfect form of knowledge . . . flows from an obsolescent philosophy from which it would be desirable to escape."²⁰

In his opinion this dissimilarity between spatial and social science corresponds to a fundamental division both in the phenomena with which the mind has to deal and in the capacities of the mind itself.

"In dealing with things sensation is the main source of the raw material which the mind works up into knowledge; in dealing with men it serves chiefly as a means of communication, as an inlet for symbols which awaken a complex inner life not primarily sensuous at all."²¹ The refinement of sensation by instruments of precision has made possible exact sciences in the realm of things. He believed that no similar process was possible in the realm of persons. Spatial sciences's verifiable character is due to the fact that "this sort of knowledge consists essentially in the measurement of one material thing in terms of another, man, with his senses and his reason, serving only as a mediator between them."²² "The practical success of a spatial science in enabling us to predict and even to control the behavior of the material world about us has given it vast prestige and brought about a feeling that the more all our mental processes are like it the more perfect will they become. A conception of what social science ought to be has accordingly grown up and gained wide vogue which is based rather upon analogy than upon something of the conditions with which we have to deal."²³

The difficulty is that "strictly speaking there are no yard sticks in social knowledge, no elementary perceptions of distinctively social facts that are so alike in all men, and can be so precisely communicated that they supply an unquestionable means of description and measurement. I say distinctively social facts because there are many facts commonly regarded as social which are material events, like marriages, and as such can be precisely observed and enumerated. But the distinctively social phenomena connected with marriage are inward and

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 124-5.

¹⁹ *Social Process*, p. 397.

²⁰ *Life-Study Method*, p. 249.

²¹ *Roots of Social Knowledge*, p. 60.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 61.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

mental such as the affection and desire of the parties. . . . These also can be known and communicated, but not with such precise agreement among observers as to make decisive measurement possible."²⁴ In social science the human mind is not merely a mediator between a fact and a means of measuring it but is itself the means of grasping the fact. Hence results cannot be verifiable and cumulative to the same degree as in the physical sciences. Indeed he regarded "exact prediction and mechanical control for the social world . . . to be a false ideal inconsiderately borrowed from the provinces of physical science."²⁵ Yet this did not shake his faith in the value of sociological research. "The possibility of social science rests upon the hypothesis that social life is in some sense rational and sequent. It has been assumed that this can only be true if it is mechanically calculable. But there may easily be another sort of rationality and sequence, not mechanical, consistent with a kind of freedom, which makes possible an organized development of social knowledge answering to the organic character of social process. The life of men seems to have a unity and order of its own. . . . It seems to include a creative element which must be grasped by the participating activity of the mind rather than by computations."²⁶

Thus "the only instrument that can in any degree meet the test of prediction, where new problems of higher choice confront the mind is the instructed imagination, which . . . may anticipate within itself the drama of social process, and so foresee the issue. . . . Social prediction in the higher provinces, must ever remain tentative. . . . In-

telligent social prediction is contradictory to determinism, because, instead of ignoring the creative will, it accepts it and endeavors by sympathy to enter into it and foresee its working."²⁷ And in another place, "the social processes of actual life can be embraced only by a mind working at large, participating through intellect and sympathy with many currents of human force, and bringing them to an imaginative synthesis. This can hardly be done with much precision nor done at all except by infusing technical methods with a total and creative spirit."²⁸

What are we to say, then, of statistical studies based upon the census and other sources, like that of Professor William F. Ogburn in *American Marriage and Family Relationships*? Are these not significant contributions and do they not enable us to predict the future course of social events? Professor Cooley would have answered that such studies are of great value as long as the results are interpreted by a competent mind having insight into the processes lying behind the recorded data (as was the fact in the study mentioned). Without such insight the meaning of the facts is not clear. Correlations may be set up but we wish to know what produces the correlations. As to prediction, Professor Cooley remarks "I take it that such uniformities as are to be observed in births, marriages, suicides, and many other human phenomena do not indicate underlying principles analogous to the laws of gravitation or chemical reaction. They merely show that under a given social condition the number of persons who will choose to perform certain definite acts within the year may remain almost the same, or may be increased or diminished by certain definite changes, such as the advent of war or economic

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

²⁵ *Social Process*, p. 398.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 401.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 400, 401.

²⁸ *Roots of Social Knowledge*, p. 78.

hardship. . . . Statistical uniformities do not show that it is possible to predict numerically the working of intelligence *in new situations*, and of course this is the decisive test. Where exact prediction is possible the whole basis of it I take to be the fact that the general social situation remains the same, or is changed in ways which do not involve new problems of choice in the field studied. In short, the more the question is one of intelligence the less the numerical method can cope with it."²⁹

The function of the statistician in social research, is simply to manipulate the standard units presented to him. These units may be either observable things like marriages in which case the distinctively social information has been passed over, or they may be social facts in which case sympathetic insight must already have been used in obtaining and classifying them. Therefore "it is not the case that social science is becoming exact through the substitution of statistics for social sympathy and imagination. What is taking place is rather, that the use of sympathy and imagination is becoming more competent, while statistics is being substituted for guesswork in the manipulation of data."³⁰

In a recent volume on social research³¹ the author takes exception to Professor Cooley's views relative to a difference in kind between the physical and the social sciences. He states that "we do not know physical data any more directly or objectively than social data, except in so far as we have developed more adequate symbolic behavior mechanisms toward the former."³² Now of course we learn about objects as well as people through words

and other symbols, but the whole point is that we can measure material objects in terms of yard-sticks verifiable by visual, tactual, and other sensory processes. In social science we have no such yardsticks, the best substitute being social perceptions expressed in words. As Professor Cooley himself has said of social research, "We must not forget . . . that the symbol is nothing in itself, but only a convenient means of developing, imparting and recording a meaning, and that meanings are a product of the mental-social complex and known to us only through consciousness. Reliance upon symbols, therefore, in no way releases us from the difficulty arising from the unmeasurable nature of our elementary social perceptions. We can record behavior and handle the record by statistics but I can see no way of avoiding the ultimate question, What does it mean?"³³

It follows that he saw little hope of significant results from recording the overt acts of children without sympathetic interpretation, a type of research which is now being undertaken. "Records of behavior without introspective interpretation are like a library of books in a strange tongue. They come from minds and mean nothing until they find their goal in other minds."³⁴ Speaking of scientific social description he says: "After all his (the observer's) version of the fact must be the dominant thing; if he does not convey this he will convey nothing worth while. To pass on to the reader unselected and unorganized facts is simply to make himself unintelligible. . . . The ascription of a course of mental behavior is, then, in the nature of a working hypothesis which guides and sharpens our observation of a course of overt behavior. If you observe the outside only you will

²⁹ *Social Process*, p. 399.

³⁰ *Roots of Social Knowledge*, p. 74.

³¹ George A. Lundberg, *Social Research*.

³² *Op. cit.* p. 15.

³³ *Roots of Social Knowledge*, p. 68.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

observe but superficially."³⁵ And finally with that touch of humor so characteristic of the man, "If those who profess to ignore the inside are not always shallow, it is, I suspect, because they do not always adhere to their principle."³⁶

Though he did not record his attitude toward the ecological approach to social phenomena, those who came under Professor Cooley's influence know his general reaction. In so far as social ecology attempts to arrive at generalizations regarding the development and structure of human communities on the basis of overt relations and events only, he felt it one-sided and inadequate. It is perhaps interesting that his *Theory of Transportation*, written while he was employed by the Census Bureau and accepted as a Doctor's thesis in economics, is now regarded as an early attempt at an ecological study. Dissatisfied himself with this approach he turned in the nineties toward the consideration of the more fundamental processes of the mental-social complex. He believed that the outward manifestations studied by ecology do give some indication of what is happening, but a very superficial indication, and it is only as these manifestations are embraced in a total understanding of the process studied through sympathetic insight that their real significance appears.

It is perhaps proper by way of summary to recall the sorts of studies Professor Cooley believed research workers could most fruitfully pursue at this stage in the evolution of sociology. In the first place let us state that he acknowledged the importance of statistical studies in extensive fields where nothing more intimate is obtainable. In areas so vast that we are unable with our present techniques to

share the underlying processes sympathetically, we must be content with what we can obtain. However, he felt that we should continuously strive to work out methods of getting behind the overt manifestations to the mental processes themselves. For instance, sociological research should in his opinion fill in the missing link between the general American situation and the figures showing increasing divorce by careful case studies of family disorganization.

Professor Cooley's hope for social research was that it should devote its chief attention to the accurate observation, record, interpretation and analysis of social situations suitable to the mental participation in them of the research worker. This field comprises a whole range from the study of highly complex, unique situations such as the development of particular institutions or particular persons, to the study of simple recurring situations such as the process of group discussion. In obtaining knowledge of such situations he favored the use of any methods which would reveal the mental-social relations. Diaries, letters, and other intimate papers are obvious mines of information. In doing research on such a question as the family attitudes of a particular culture, plays and novels might well prove of value. Sumner's *Folkways* of which Professor Cooley thought very highly was produced by the careful use of the recorded observations of anthropologists and travelers. One of the new devices which may give us records of human interaction worth studying is the talking picture of actual life situations like crowds, assemblies, etc. Usually however, we will have to go out and obtain first hand information about the situations we wish to study. This will involve personal interviews, objective observation, the use of schedules and question-

³⁵ *Life-Study Method*, p. 253.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 254.

naires and the securing of personal histories and other behavior documents. So anxious was Professor Cooley to get at the real flow of life that even when his students used questionnaires (a technique he somewhat distrusted), he always urged them to give the subjects an opportunity to express themselves freely in supplementary paragraphs. As has been pointed out he believed we should keep the "wholeness" of the social entities studied and he therefore looked with particular favor on case studies of persons, groups, small institutions and small communities. It should be reiterated that he believed thoroughly that in all such research objective data should be obtained and treated statistically. He simply felt that, due to the present trend toward greater objectivity, there would be no failure in this regard and that he therefore should concern himself with emphasizing the importance for social research of the subjective elements. Statistical treatment in which is retained the "wholeness" of social entities by means of a preliminary

classification into types was regarded by him as offering great possibilities.

The fact that Professor Cooley was receptive to the idea of experimental sociology perhaps indicates that he was by no means narrowly conservative in his point of view on research as some of the supporters of the physical science approach would have us think. When Dr. Lowell J. Carr first talked over with him the possibilities in this direction, he expressed a desire that experimental work at least be given a thorough trial. He thought it a not unjustified hope that with talking pictures and properly set up social situations human interactions might be carefully studied in the laboratory.³⁷

Such then is a brief and inadequate sketch of the heritage which social research receives from a great scholar. Those who were so fortunate as to study under his guidance believe it is one of permanent significance to the science of sociology.

³⁷ See Lowell J. Carr, "Experimental Sociology," *Social Forces*, VIII, pp. 63-74.

THREE OBSTACLES TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SCIENTIFIC SOCIOLOGY

WILLIAM F. OGBURN

I RECENTLY heard a speaker discuss in an hour's lecture the question, what is science?, and reach the conclusion that we do not know what it is. I shall waive all these admirable searchings and doubts and, for the purposes of this paper, state simply that science is the discovery of new knowledge. It is the purpose of this paper to emphasize three difficulties that seem particularly formidable at the present time for the development of science in the social disciplines.

The first of these is intellectualism. Scholarship and science are different. Many thinkers are to a high degree intellectual but in no sense scientific. Most scientists are, however, intellectual; moderately so, at least. The expression of intellectuality is an elaboration of ideas. But these ideas are only in rare cases statements of knowledge that can be safely relied upon by others. The ideas of the intellectual are more often the product of imagination, or they are the associations of prior ideas and ex-

periences and are thus called interpretations. Intellectualism consists of a free play of ideas, arising out of a refined and restrained emotion and disciplined only slightly but in varying degrees by facts. It flourishes best where the intellect has become the outlet for certain of the higher emotions. Intellectualism is to be placed somewhere between day dreaming and scientific thinking. It is not so purely emotional as day dreaming nor does it restrict the subjective forces so strongly as does scientific thinking. Intellectuality is delightful because it is the play of the intellect. Scientific work is more often hard and disciplined routine.

The scientific process of discovering new knowledge usually consists of two steps, getting an idea or hunch and proving it after having formulated it into an hypothesis. Intellectualism encourages greatly the first step in this process. It is the atmosphere in which ideas are born. But on the other hand it greatly hinders the second step in the process. And it must be remembered that ideas are not knowledge; and they can be proven to be knowledge or not only by laborious effort. Until that is done we do not have science.

During the past century we have honored great intellects in the social fields. Let us hope that in the present century we shall honor great scientists. If one can get greater fame by being intellectual, why go through the ordeal of being scientific, when science is less honored? Intellectuality is the temptress for the would-be scientist. And if he yields to the lure of the charm of intellectuality, when he should be working, he is lost, as a scientist. The prestige of the scientist in sociology is almost nil today, while at the same time we honor great thinkers, great leaders, great intellects. It is true we pay a certain lip service to science and research in sociology, but most of us confuse these

with intellectuality. It is thus that intellectualism is an obstacle to science.

The second difficulty for social science is the idea that the aim of science is mastery or control. For science is not the slightest interested in making the world a better place in which to live, in eliminating poverty, in eradicating disease, or in bringing justice upon the earth. Nor is it the purpose of science to spread knowledge; that is the province of education. As trainers of scientists, we are not interested in whether doctoral dissertations are written well or not. The one objective is to learn and use the best procedures for the discovery of new enduring knowledge.

Now it may be that as a human being I may want to make the world a better place to live in. And if I am at the same time a scientist, then I may very well elect to work toward the discovery of new knowledge in fields and along lines that will improve conditions. But such a selection of a problem or hypothesis is made by me as a human being and not as a scientist; yet I may work on it as a scientist and in a scientific manner. It is very probable also that being a human being I am an egoist and hence greatly interested in mastery and control. In which case, I may elect to work as a scientist upon some problem or hypothesis with a strictly scientific procedure which will give me as a human being and as an egoist greater control or mastery.

But how, it is asked, does such a confusion of aims act as a hindrance to the promotion of science? The hindrance lies in the fact that the forces of society operate with great force to make a student into a leader, an educationalist, a social reformer, a moralist, a social worker, a statesman, an executive, a writer, a journalist, and a host of occupations other than that of a scientist. And as long as

this difference in purpose is not seen clearly, the student goes happily on the path toward leadership, thinking the while he is on the path toward science. So likewise society should recognize that all these pursuits and callings are not scientific pursuits. They may be more worthy, they may be more important to the body politic than the activities of science. This point is not questioned here. But what is claimed is that the growth of science is hindered, when society encourages many other activities on the theory that they are scientific when they are not.

— The third obstacle to science in the so-called social sciences is the pressure for action and results. We are not allowed to wait until our knowledge can be made more exact; for we must act without knowledge or on mere guesses. Society won't let a scientist in the social field do good work even if he wants to do so. Even if we learn to appreciate scientific thinking in contrast to intellectual effervescences, and even if we are able to prevent our purposes from vitiating our scientific procedures, still we as a society are not willing to allow our social scientific workers to carry their their work to the high standards necessary to obtain reliable knowledge. For science cannot be content with other than a very high degree of certainty that what is claimed to be new knowledge is really knowledge that will endure. The peculiarity of social science—and not of the natural sciences—is that we have to use and act on so many approximations to knowledge. For instance, we must have a tariff or free trade or some intermediate arrangements, knowing precious little what the effects may be. So we must deal with criminals, never mind whether imprisonment is a deterrent or an encouragement. We may have some idea, but lacking measurement our knowledge is meagre and unsatis-

factory. We can't wait until the social scientist tells us.

And since we must act, we act according to the dictates of our emotions and prejudices; for such is the origin of action. This demand for action is thus equivalent to admitting in all the distorting influences of bias. These distorting influences twist reality all out of shape, whereas science is interested in furnishing a realistic picture for us to carry around in our head in order to act wisely.

✓ The tendency of sociology is to deal more and more with practical social problems. As practical persons dealing with social problems, the force is to make us content with approximations to knowledge, with guesses, estimates, and provisional, contingent answers. Such approximations are not science—real knowledge—at all. We call them science, just as we call intellectuality and mastery science. The idea of science is becoming debased. Everybody wants to be scientific. And to be engaged in any sort of activity that some one says isn't scientific causes us to hang our heads in shame. Even artists occasionally want to be scientific (whereas their real purpose is to be unscientific). Of course, the non-scientific activities of life, which constitute most of our breathing time, are as important as scientific research, and should be so valued.

This great pressure to get out quickly a lot of approximate information and hunches to act on seems to be quite worth while and desirable. But it is hardly science, because the knowledge, if such it may be called, is not exact enough, is not enduring enough. And it is a mistake to call this approximate knowledge science, for it tends to debase our procedures and to lower out standards. And science cannot well prosper unless we look to exact standards and hold to them closely.

It is thought indeed that these three

obstacles of intellectualism, confusion of scientific aims with other purposes in life, and the great pressure for approximations

to knowledge are of sufficient magnitude to introduce a note of pessimism into our generally healthy optimism.

TOWARD PRELIMINARY SOCIAL ANALYSIS: I. THE SOUTHERN MILL SYSTEM FACES A NEW ISSUE

HARRIET L. HERRING

FOR the last six or eight months mill owners and their friends have been asking with considerable irritation, not to say wrath: "Why all the excitement about a few small strikes in southern cotton mills?" Southern boosters, proud of the section's recent progress, have been dismayed at the unfavorable publicity and impatient at the misrepresentation. Strikes in other parts of the country, they point out, that involved no more workers would not get beyond the local papers; strikes that have collapsed remain in the headlines as strikes because of the activities of a handful of irreconcilables. Even the violence and bloodshed, distressing as they have been, have had many parallels without a national to-do made over them. And as for the descriptions of the people, of houses, of villages and of wages, they add, these have been the fabrications of publicity-hunting agitators, the screams of jaundiced sob-sisters, or the deliberate misstatement of professional writers who find it easier to sell a sensational piece. All these, they complain, have hunted up a few exceptional cases, made them more so and filled the press of the nation with their fabrications until the whole country forgets the hundreds of model villages, hundreds of just and considerate employers and thousands of contented workers. The rank and file of North Carolinians, even some of the "liberals," however much they may admit a sort of justice in the situation,

grieve over the bad name the state has received and question whether it is not all out of proportion to its sin.

WHY PUBLIC INTEREST IN MILLS?

Such publicity, to paraphrase a famous advertisement, must be deserved. Of course a strike in the South has news value—any extremely unusual occurrence has—and especially right now when the South is in the eyes of the nation and more especially when her textile industry is threatening to supplant older centers. But public interest in southern cotton mills is nothing new, and interest in cotton mills in general is older still. There must be some fundamental reasons for it which go far back into the history of the industry.

The textile industry has always been the advanced guard of the industrial revolution. It was the first great field of economic activity into which the machine and the factory system were introduced. It was the first to break a thousand traditions of handicraft, household, rural work and life; the first to yoke the worker to an iron man whose tireless muscles were propelled by tireless steam; the first to take the workers, especially women, out of their homes; to put them under the continual discipline of the boss, the machine and the factory whistle; to put women and children on an economic par with men. It employed whole families in a single factory, making the problem of the family

wage more easily apparent than when the working members are scattered, thus raising the question of what it is doing to the family. It has always built villages or barracks and isolated its workers, involving itself in a problem with social implications and raising the question as to what it is doing to the community. In each new section where it is introduced, the textile industry does all these things for the first time—England, New England, the South, the Orient. Other industries follow, doing some or all of these things as a matter of course. But textiles must bear the brunt of criticism for upsetting a whole culture. It is only fair to add that it receives the praise for building up a new prosperity. Both factors serve to keep it in the public eye.

The southern textile industry is kept in the public eye for all the old reasons and for some additional new ones. It is something for the rest of the country to talk about. The rest of the country is prone to believe anything about the South just so it is exaggerated enough—that southerners of the past generation were all reared in great plantation houses with hordes of Negro servants, or that present southerners are infected with hookworm and fundamentalist religion; that mill villages are beautiful garden cities, or that mill houses are so flimsy that you can pry off the weather boarding with your little finger. There is no average, no middle ground. The mills are kept in the eyes of the people of the South, itself. In large sections of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Tennessee almost every town has some sort of mill, and in these and other states the papers and Chambers of Commerce are urging and inviting more. Everyone knows something about cotton mills and considers himself qualified to have an opinion on the subject in a way in which he does not about more localized industries.

But perhaps the greatest reason for public interest in the South, and outside, in southern cotton mills is that they practice a peculiar form of paternalism in an age that has made a fetish of democracy. There is nothing new about any of the forms which this paternalism takes. It is a direct heritage both from older textile centers and from the social and economic set-up of the old South. Daniel Pratt of Alabama, and William Gregg of South Carolina brought from upper New England practices which had been brought in turn from Robert Owen's highly paternalistic village of New Lanark. The early New England mill builders of upper South Carolina brought the tradition of lower New England, which in turn was directly influenced, through Slater, by Belper and Ashton, early English model mill villages. All these set the pattern for much that has developed. Into it fitted the habits and needs of the region. Southern capitalists were used to taking care of their labor, of housing it, of controlling its every activity, for it was a valuable part of their investment. When they employed poor whites instead of buying slaves it was natural to continue to do so. It was necessary as well because the new worker had no means to provide a home, little appreciation of the need for community agencies and no leadership to provide a vision. It was a philanthropic deed to give them work; it was truly a Christian deed to provide them with churches and schools. Paternalism has had, in many ways, a long and respected history. It still has a great deal of popular approval in the South. It is not the fault of the present mill owner that it has gone out of fashion in most parts of the country.

PATERNALISM AS A SYSTEM OF INDUSTRIAL MANAGEMENT

While it was going out of style in other places and in other industries, it was grow-

ing in the South until it has reached an unprecedented stage of development. In no other place or time has an important industry, scattered over so large a territory and employing so many workers, been so completely "sold" to the idea. Small, indeed, is the textile plant in the South in which what is commonly known as the paternalistic idea does not affect the workers through the village, influence on group life, as well as through the mill work itself.

Aiding schools and urging the children to attend them, or keeping out of special tax districts with their facilities for high schools and urging, or at least allowing, children to go to work as soon as they are old enough—such diversities represent policies toward education. Through community workers, nurses, recreation and group leaders, wage schemes, group insurance, and so on, the family, the child, and the whole social life can be affected. Through aid to churches, almost universally rendered, the mills have a tool for control ready to their hand. It is quite likely that it has not been necessary to exercise this type of control heretofore because the doctrines of the evangelical churches most active in the South suit an employer very well as they are already taught. And he believes them himself and professes them, often in the same church with his employees and as a leader in the church. It will be interesting to see whether more direct control will be exercised as the churches become interested in a social gospel or in villages in which there is industrial warfare.

The village system, likewise, can affect the family profoundly. By supplying houses at less than cost the mill makes home-owning impracticable even if the one-industry town or village did not make it unwise. By its standards of sanitation and upkeep, by its policy of over-crowding,

or the lack of it, family standards can be greatly influenced. The family destiny is affected in times of individual trouble with mill authorities just as much as the union destiny is affected in times of group trouble.

All these are more or less obvious implications of the paternalistic system. Less obvious, but more important in its recent effects on the workers, is its application to the actual operation of the mill. Here paternalism has its sentimental, its selfish and its autocratic sides.

The mill owner feels a deal of responsibility for his people, for the group which he has brought together in an artificial village for the sole purpose of running his mill. Unemployment and consequent suffering in it are directly attributable to the mill and to him and not, as in more normal towns, to the vague specter of dull business. And so he operates his mill many days and weeks when he should not do so, piling up inventories to be disposed of somehow in an overstocked market. Because he hates ruthlessly to dump out one hundred, two hundred, a thousand workers who, he knows, can find no employment, he keeps on a night shift even if he has to run three days and three nights a week. In an effort to pass the work around he keeps 20 to 30 per cent more workers on the payroll than are needed to man the machines, and "sends some out to rest" each day. As a result of such practices the industry, already overdeveloped, continues perpetually overstocked with goods; and wages, already the lowest of any chief industry, are for the individual worker cut down a fourth or a third while the latter is encouraged to hang on hoping for full time next week or next month. Other industries with less of the traditions of responsibility, less of the personal touch and direct contact with workers—less quixotic, if you will—ad-

just themselves to demand, quite heartlessly lay off workers wholesale to adjust themselves as best they can. Such industries recover more promptly from a dull season and in the long run are able to pay full wages to a normal supply of workers. Thus they keep both their business and their reputation, whereas the cotton mills, in an effort to be humane and considerate, lose both.

It is fashionable right now in many circles to be very skeptical of this feeling of responsibility, to doubt the claims of the mills that they are making nothing or are actually losing money while continuing to run in an effort to give the workers at least partial employment. While it is possible to doubt the wisdom, economic and social, of such a policy, it is not possible for anyone who knows the inside workings of even a few mills to doubt the fact of it. It may be claimed more often than it actually happens, for the mill owner, like the rest of human nature, cries out vigorously when he makes little or no money and stays quiet when he is making profits.

And of course there is a selfish side to this policy. Continuous operation of machinery makes for lower unit cost, an important factor in this highly competitive period of textiles. With two shifts running three days and three nights each, it is possible to double production by simply posting a notice of full time. This is a distinct advantage in a day of hand-to-mouth buying which has put a premium on quick delivery. It is very handy to have plenty of workers. Any foreman, especially one who has gone through the war period, can appreciate the comfortable security that he will have more than enough hands tomorrow morning. It not only makes his problem of production easier but it practically eliminates his problems of discipline. It is obviously a

particularly handy situation in a case of labor troubles on a larger scale than that of individual protest.

If one side of the coin is paternalistic responsibility tinged in spots with selfishness, the other side is paternalistic authority with more than a touch of autocratic self-will. The natural attitude of any business man to consider his business his own affair is accentuated in the case of the mill owner by the smallness of the mills. The stock is often so closely owned that he does not even have the experience of making such public statements as widely-owned corporations are obliged to make. He has had no practice in confiding in his workers beyond the flat statement that there are no orders, or no profits, or that wages must be lowered, and it is not theirs to reason why. The southern employer has had no experience in dealing with his workers as a group and he fears such a system as we all fear radical departures from habit. What he hears of its workings in other industries and sections does not reassure him as to the preservation of the owner's authority. He is certainly in no mood to confide in non-employer representatives who make embarrassing demands, nor to deal with them in any but the most summary fashion.

THE REPLACEMENT OF THE PATERNALISTIC SYSTEM WITH COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

Such, very briefly sketched, are the implications of the paternalistic system of industrial management in southern mills which it is now proposed to replace by collective bargaining. Even this rapid account of its operation makes clear some of the difficulties which the movement will have to overcome as regards the employers. It is difficult enough to organize workers against the vigorous opposition of employers; it is an Herculean task, indeed, when the mill village gives a system

of influence and of control over workers and their every activity. To this we must add the fact that the mill owners are well organized, themselves. So far the activities of the various associations have been centered around questions of tariff, of taxation, of transportation rates, and technical problems of production and production policy. But there is a tendency for some groups to discuss the labor problem as the latter has recently come to the front, and the associations keep their members well informed regarding what they consider hostile activities. And quite without any organized effort or system of exchange all are perfectly agreed as regards agitators and unions.

The paternalistic system removes many of the grounds for protest and much of the temper for it. The average worker in southern cotton mills has not learned to resent it nearly as much as outsiders imagine he would. An individual employee may dislike some manifestations of it, but that same person is rather apt to accept as conveniences certain other phases. They are enough like his old relations to his landlord to be familiar, and to be reconcilable with his rural background of personal independence and individualism. The southern worker is still so recently from those breeding grounds of individualism, the country and the mountains, that he has had little experience in group action, and has developed no great faith in it. The industrial system has not yet impressed him with its inexorableness. He still holds to the good old American doctrine that a man of ambition, ability and energy can rise. Indeed, he has seen it happen many times, for the industry has expanded so fast that it has been able to promote from the ranks all who were capable of promotion. Practically every foreman, most superintendents, and even many in the executive group have risen

from the ranks. Thus even more than in most industries the southern textile workers have had their natural leaders bought away from them to lead for management instead of for labor. Always a low wage industry, and employing from its beginning an economically and socially underprivileged group, this feature of cotton mill economy has left in the rank and file a low average of ambition, of energy, of ability. The village system of isolation has perpetuated rather than diminished this.

And so the second great difficulty which a movement for organization has to overcome is the inertia and lack of interest of the workers themselves. Heretofore they have not seen any great advantage in unions; the employer has taken care of any emergencies which overtaxed family and neighbors; the meager demand for group activity has been more than met by church, lodge, and community house. Working and living conditions have been gradually improving ever since his recollection and, until the last decade, wages as well. Even with the low wages that have attracted so much attention in the disturbances during 1929 his standard of living and of pay are better than in the mill work of his youth and than in his present only alternative, agriculture. The employee is interested in organization only mildly, or at most spasmodically and locally as some special condition rouses his protest.

Just the reverse is the attitude of the southern public, for in this group we see no lack of interest. As has already been said, the paternalistic system is still quite generally approved in the South. The public, therefore, sees no need for organization. It disapproves heartily of strikes and the attendant disruption of the community. It disapproves of "outside agitators." These facts are plain enough in any labor trouble

in the South; they were strikingly evident in the recent instances where literally hundreds of citizens of North Carolina were examined for jury duty and expressed their opinions on this subject. The press of the South, small papers as well as large, showed this same attitude. This attitude grows partly out of the whole psychology of the South. It is as sensitive to criticism as the mills themselves. Recovering from its defeatist psychology, it is gaining confidence in its own ability to do things. It is weary of being reformed by outsiders. Its dislike of "foreign" ways is reenforced by its experience with textile unionism. In the flurries of organization which have swept the South, in 1900, in 1919-21, and again in 1929, strikes have been the immediate accompaniment. This has been because employers forced the hand of the new union, or because the workers, fascinated with a new tool, or unwisely led, overestimate their strength. The public, as inexperienced with organization as the employer and the employee, does not realize that this is an inevitable stage of development through which organization has always gone before it builds up sufficient power to be a responsible force in bargaining.

At best the textile industry is hard enough to organize without all the difficulties already mentioned. It is a semi-skilled, highly automatic industry, capable of training in new workers quickly. It is a low-wage industry, so that a union cannot build up a treasury to stand expensive strikes. It has some 40 per cent or more women, always a difficult group to organize permanently, especially these rural-minded conservative southern women. It employs a large number of young workers. The group from 14 to 16 has rapidly decreased, it is true, but there are still many from 16 to 20, constituting an irresponsible element. The industry is widely

scattered, making the development of solidarity and group consciousness difficult. Wages in comparison with other employment, working conditions and personal policies of some employers all keep as many aloof from the movement as it hurls into it. It is difficult to rally general public opinion of the country to any very practical assistance of the movement by publicity and boycott, since few southern products are sold to the consumer as they come from any individual mill.

So much for the difficulties at best. But the present is worse than best. The industry is sick as a consequence of overdevelopment. Increased industrial uses have not made up for the great decrease in personal use. Accustomed to a market that would absorb almost any amount of goods at a price, the manufacturer had formerly to see chiefly to economical production; now he must forecast—or gamble on—the public demand. Seasonal fluctuations have been intensified by the recent trends toward more rapid style fluctuations. A marketing system always complicated by the division of the processes of manufacture and distribution among spinners, weavers, finishers, convertors, commission merchants, wholesalers, jobbers, cutters up, ad infinitum, has been aggravated by the survival of the war practice of hand-to-mouth buying. The Cotton-Textile Institute offers promise of stabilization and control, but after all the mill man is almost as individualistic as his employees. The business outlook in general and of the textile industry in particular, is not for that prosperity which makes labor organization proceed apace. The present situation as regards surplus labor supply and the lack of outlet to the even worse depressed farm has already been touched upon. This again has been exaggerated by the "stretch out" system. The first to adopt the principle of division

of labor in its more modern machine sense, textiles have been the last great industry to adopt its latest phase of efficiency engineering. This has now reached the mills with a rush, and is reducing not only the total number of workers but particularly the proportion of skilled workers who are the most organizable.

The supplanting of the paternalistic system in the southern mills has, then, to overcome difficulties growing out of opposition by employers, inertia of workers, prejudices of the public, and out of the nature of the work and the workers. It must meet difficulties growing out of being established traditions and out of the latest economic embarrassment of the industry.

WHAT THE SUBSTITUTION OFFERS

What does the substitution promise socially and economically to the worker, the industry and the South? For one thing whether it succeeds or fails, the industry bids fair to have a hard fight on the subject. For even in the face of all these difficulties it will not do to say assuredly that the movement must fail and that in short order. There are some factors which preclude so simple a disposition of the case.

Some things are happening to the workers which may overcome their inertia. They are losing their rural background. Not since the boom times of war and immediately after have mills scouted in the mountains and country for families to man their machines. There is a growing number of second and third generation mill workers, a group which the tendency of children to remain in mill and mill village increases rapidly. Since the average age of mill workers is young, thirty to thirty-five years, this means that there is an increasing number of people reared, not

to the individualism of the farm, but to close contact with their fellows in work, in life, and in group activities. At the same time the very control of the paternalistic system helps to break down individualistic habits of mind and of life in workers of all ages. The young men of ability and qualities of leadership may not be disposed of so much to their own satisfaction by way of promotion in the immediate future. The more nearly full grown industry, the tendency toward mergers and consolidation with consequent need for fewer men at the top, the new fashion of employing young college and technically trained men to work up to executive positions will all help to close doors to their advancement.

If these potential leaders turn their energies to organization (and in the recent strikes in the South it has been the young men and women who have figured as leaders) they will find a more intelligent group of followers than their predecessors in earlier organization campaigns have found. The mills helped support schools before most southern counties did much about them, so that the mill counties show a higher rate of literacy than many other counties. The high school fever which so recently struck the South is getting to the mill children. Mill families read newspapers at least as much as the average of the population. All these form new channels of contact and new sources of information. The mill workers know more about workers in other sections and industries, they know that wages are higher and hours shorter. The older workers may realize out of their long experience that low pay is the rule and the boom of the war abnormal, but the young worker who started in at that period accepts as natural what he first found and so thinks just the reverse. He has an ear open to the persuasions of the

person or the organization that promises him improvement.

Some of the workers, themselves, then, may develop enough interest to stir up a real contest with the employers, their fellow workers and the public. To their ranks will be added—perhaps it were better to say they will themselves be added to—the enthusiasts from orthodox and unorthodox branches of the labor movement from other parts of the country. The American Federation of Labor, after having made various desultory efforts to organize southern mills, had about abandoned the field when the efforts of the radical National Textile Workers Union in 1929 stirred them to action more vigorous than an annual resolution on the floor of the convention. President Green has interested himself seriously in the problem. Plans for an organizing drive are proceeding in a business-like way.

This is not going to keep out the extremists, however. They have always found the textile workers more susceptible to their energetic appeals than any other great field of American industry. The difficulties of permanent organization have kept the United Textile Workers a weak branch of the American Federation of Labor, unable to drive out interlopers. Spotty and irregular standards of work, of workers, of wages and conditions have given spectacular opportunities for sudden forays. Thus there has been a procession of such attempts which the more orthodox organization has not been able to forestall: by the Knights of Labor, Socialists, Industrial Workers of the World, and now most recently by the Communists. These last have just had a taste of the publicity and martyrdom that such crusading spirits thrive on, and it is not likely that they will retire quietly for the more conservative type.

By way of parenthesis it might be said

here that the southern estimate of these enthusiasts is curiously distorted on at least one point. They are assumed to be greedy despoilers in the business purely for the money they get out of it. A region that sends so many missionaries to upset the religious and cultural tradition of other countries ought to be able to appreciate the fact that the young men and women who are coming to the southern mills with the idea of saving the people have much of the same spiritual urge as those foreign missionaries to whose support most mill owners contribute. But if the South underestimates the seriousness and honesty of purpose of the "agitator" it also underestimates the great bulwarks of conservatism against which the agitator beats in vain. Otherwise we should not have the spectacle of so many southerners terrorized at the threats of free love, equality with the Negro, atheism, communism, revolution which they seem to see in a handful of soap-box orators.

To be sure, they make a great deal of trouble at the moment, largely because of terrorized response to their efforts. But so do the more orthodox "American" union, and for the same reason. Marion and Elizabethton have not been unlike Gastonia. And any sort of organization will make such trouble as long as it has to meet employers, a public, and officials of peace and order who are so genuinely shocked at what they consider attacks on all their rights, standards and ideals, to say nothing of their economic interest. For everybody has rediscovered the fact that the southerner is a born fighter. The southern citizen and deputy sheriff are as much hundred per cent Anglo-Saxons as the striker in the picket line, and are as enthusiastic in defending their notions as the "outside agitator" is in propagating his. Indeed, the close contact in all the

relationships of life in village and town makes the fight more personal and painful than are industrial disputes where the workers disperse after a meeting or picket service and scatter over a city. In the struggles in North Carolina last year the strike found reflections in the relations of doctor and druggist and groceryman to the individual striker. In a closely knit society like North Carolina they have had reverberations and caused suspicions and hard feelings in social, political, religious, and business groups many miles away.

The industry and the South, it would appear, are in for a fight which will be a particularly painful and personal one. It is a struggle in which the odds are so heavily against the workers that there is little hope of their winning. For even if they win a single fight in a single mill, unless it is enforced by a stronger organization than textile workers have yet been able to achieve in America there will be broken agreements and backsliding. For even an owner willing to concede union demands can hardly do so unless the union is powerful enough to force the same from his competitors. The union needs to go through a process of educating the workers, the public, and the employers in the methods and responsibilities of organized labor, as well as in the specific aims for bettering the condition of the worker. The conference of labor leaders at Charlotte, January 6, announces that this is to be an important part of their strategy. Then when the economic condition of the industry improves, they will be able to take advantage of their preparatory work and advance their lines.

SUPPLEMENTING PATERNALISM WITH SOCIAL CONTROL

In the meantime, there are improvements which undoubtedly should be made.

It is still legal in nearly all southern states to work women sixty hours a week, day as well as night. In North Carolina it is still legal to work children fourteen to sixteen years of age eleven hours a day and in Georgia and South Carolina ten hours. In all the South those who are just past sixteen may work full adult hours, night as well as day. With compulsory education laws it is still possible for young people to go to work illiterate. With mothers' aid funds it is still necessary for mothers to work at night to earn support for fatherless children. Paternalistic owners who claim to care for their people, and have been left free from interference by law largely because the public believes this is so, can still have dirty and unhealthy villages, can still dump a whole village into the road.

Society, the worker, and the industry would be the better for improvement on these points. Laws that would bring the employer at the bottom up to the standards that many have reached by voluntary action must depend for their passage upon an interested and informed public. For most of these are matters which unions will reach only after they have expended valuable time and invaluable energy fighting for increased wages—a futile business, indeed, as long as southern textiles have below them in the pyramid the vast foundation of worse-paid farm tenant and Negro labor.

Such social control is more effective. It applies to all the cases. It is not dependent on the whim of the owner, the ups and downs of the union, the vagaries of the market. It is a principle which has been admitted now for so long that the only question as to the right of government to control is how far it is wise and expedient to go. It is the trend of modern society in dealing with the imponderable forces which capitalism and the machine

age have brought in their train. It is the peaceful way—using our present organization of society for peace instead of building up a new organization for war. Surely it is the more logical, sensible way for an educated democracy. And in this trend two things are worth pointing out. The one is the assurance of a society which will face facts, which will set up and encourage fact-finding agencies and be will-

ing to base its action upon fact rather than emotions. The other is a social policy which will set up organization, promotion, and control through the stronger and working members of society rather than the weaker and disgruntled individuals and groups. This applies North and South, in the local community and in the nation, among mill owners and workers, among union and non-union.

TOWARD PRELIMINARY SOCIAL ANALYSIS: II. ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE GASTONIA SITUATION

BENJAMIN ULYSSES RATCHFORD

DURING the past year developments among the textile workers of the South have caught and held the attention of the public in a dramatic fashion. Especially has this been true in Gaston County, beginning in April, 1929. Like a bolt from the blue came the news of the strike there by a Communist Union, then, in rapid succession, followed the whole chain of events that has received nation-wide and even world-wide publicity. Popular writers have picked out and played up the dramatic, the thrilling, and the pathetic aspects of the case. Liberal and radical organizations and publications have raised a great hue and cry over the political aspects of the case, charging industrial slavery and a reign of terror by the mill owners, while the conservative press has responded with vituperations and charges of a radical conspiracy to overthrow our economic and social system. Editors have made hasty analyses and called for the exercise of common sense, without designating just what is common sense in this case. All of these have been partisan or superficial in their treatment of the essentials of the case, and have suc-

ceeded only in beclouding the real issues. There has been a lack of thorough, impartial analyses by those familiar with the situation. The following is an attempt at such an analysis in so far as it is possible by one who is a native of Gastonia and who knows many of the parties concerned. The discussion is confined mainly to Gaston County, but in many cases the facts and conclusions will be true of Southern textile conditions in general.

The first great question that presents itself is: What was the cause of the whole trouble? Such events as those that have stirred the state and nation during the past year do not happen without a cause and usually the cause is more or less proportionate to the events. For this reason it is idle to say that the trouble was caused by the agitation of a few organizers; the roots of the trouble lie far deeper than that. Let us see if we can trace some of the causes of the strike which was called rather hurriedly at the Loray Mill on April 1, 1929.

For one moment let us glance back just one decade to the boom days of 1919-1920. In those days the price of cotton yarn

reached fantastic heights, and the demand for it was so strong that thousands of pounds were shipped to northern consumers by express. It was often stated that the profits of a cotton mill for one year would pay the costs of its construction. The slogan of Gaston County was, "Organize a mill a week," and for a time that was done. Speculation in mill stocks was rampant; farmers mortgaged their farms to buy shares; professional men bought stock with money borrowed on the stocks as collateral. Stocks sold 25 and 30 points above par before construction was started on the mills.

Then came the crash. The depression of 1920-1921 hurt the textile industry more than most other industries for several reasons: the excessive development had probably gone farther than in most lines; much of the construction had taken place at the high prices of 1919; and, finally, styles changed just at that time so that cotton fabrics were not used nearly so much as formerly. All of these contributed not only to produce a severe reaction in 1920-1921, but also to cause a prolonged depression after that time. This depression is shown by the figures on cotton spindles in the United States. The number of cotton spindles in place in the United States increased only 2.4 per cent from 1920 to 1927, while the active spindles actually decreased 3.1 per cent in the same period. This compares unfavorably with the increase of 11.4 per cent in spindles in place and 12.5 per cent in active spindles for the period 1913-1920. However the number of active spindles in the South increased by 17.5 per cent between 1920 and 1927. This was largely because of the movement of cotton mills from New England to the South, and it only increased the competition and emphasized the overdevelopment in the South.

Confronted with this situation, it was

necessary that the mill owners should try to improve their situation. They practiced curtailment and part time operation, but this left their plants idle a part of the time so that overhead costs mounted up and profits were kept down. Their only other alternative was to reduce labor costs, and thus many mills, mostly those owned by New England interests, and the larger mills with aggressive, up-to-date management, began to apply principles of scientific management. This consisted mostly in keeping the worker at his job more continuously and increasing the speed of his work so that each worker could operate more machinery. In some cases these changes were accompanied by wage cuts. This is the "stretch-out" system of which so much has been heard. The Loray Mill was probably the only mill in Gaston County to use this system to any appreciable extent. The object was to get from the relatively unskilled, low paid southern worker who worked long hours, the same results per hour as were obtained from higher paid New England workers, who worked fewer hours per day. The result was that the workers rebelled. Far more than low wages and long hours, the easy-going southern worker resented this innovation that disturbed his routine of work, the constant pressure that kept him going at a high speed and robbed him of occasional moments of rest.

We may conclude, then, that *the strike was made possible when the attempts of the mill owners to apply New England standards of efficiency to southern conditions, aroused the hostility and opposition of the worker. By southern conditions, we mean the relatively unskilled labor, the low wages, and the long hours as compared with New England.* This, it should be noted, was the underlying, the fundamental, cause of the strike. That this was the principal cause of the strike is substantiated by the fact

that in the smaller mills, where the change had not been made, there was either no trouble, or only minor strikes which were easily and quickly settled, as at South Gastonia, Forest City, Pineville and Lexington. These were only by-products of the Loray strike and did not endure as the strikes at Loray, in Marion, and in Greenville, South Carolina, because they did not have the same conditions underneath. The immediate occasion of the strike, in the case of the Loray, was the discharge, by mill officials, of five members of the National Textile Workers Union because of their membership in this union. A local of this union had been secretly organized at the Loray in November or December of 1928, and was discovered just before the strike.

Granting that underlying causes were as described above, how did it happen that the first blow fell at Gastonia? The following plausible explanation has been advanced, whether or not it is the process of reasoning that was consciously followed. With the whole field of southern textile labor unorganized before them, the leaders of the communistic interests, when they decided to start their campaign for a foothold in the South, chose North Carolina because it was the leading textile state in the South. They chose Gaston County because it was the key to the State, and they chose the Loray because it was by far the largest mill in the county. Certainly all of the above facts are true, and in addition the Loray had been a leader in introducing the new working conditions. In this connection, an incident which came under my observation in Gastonia in August 1928, constitutes an interesting prelude to what followed and gives a very interesting sidelight on the real attitude of the workers.

On this night in August several trucks, loaded with workers from the Loray,

mostly young people, paraded through the principal streets of Gastonia. The occupants of the truck were shouting, laughing, singing, blowing horns, beating tin pans, shooting fire crackers, and in general, staging a genuine, spontaneous celebration. They looked very much like one of the picnic parties that are frequently organized for outings into the country, except that they were somewhat more boisterous. They continued through the city and out about two miles eastward into an exclusive residential section. Here they turned into the driveway of the home of a Mr. Johnstone and continued their celebration, with increased volume, in the driveway, on the lawn and around the house. Mr. Johnstone finally was forced to summon the sheriff and deputies to disperse the crowd and stop the demonstration. The crowd then returned through the city, continuing the celebration. Mr. Johnstone had been for a number of years the general superintendent of the Loray Mill, and had been instrumental in introducing the "stretch-out" system. This meant, of course, that he had incurred the intense dislike of the workers. On the date of the demonstration it had been announced that he was being transferred to another mill and the workers took the occasion to express their elation at his going.

All of the above means that the Loray offered a particularly fertile field for agitation and for organization to express the unrest. It was only natural that some group, looking for a chance to start a campaign for organization, should grasp the opportunity. The National Textile Workers Union did just that.

II

The next interesting problem concerns the cause for the failure of the strike and the whole series of killings, floggings,

and mob demonstrations that followed during the summer of 1929. Why did the strike fail? It *did* fail definitely and completely. Within a month after the first walkout, the Loray was operating at capacity production, with the workers under the old conditions, and since that time it has never had to slacken production because of labor shortage.

There were three principal reasons for the failure of the strike. In the first place it was an unorganized strike; only a few of the strikers were union members, and even they were not disciplined to labor organizations and methods. Only a very small percentage of the workers were members of the union at the time of the walkout, and, while many joined during the first few days of the strike, they soon deserted. None of them had had any experience with strikes nor knew what a strike entailed. The second reason was the great division among the workers. There was always a large group, and probably a majority of the workers, who were opposed to the leaders of the strike because of their views and methods and because of the public opinion of the county. This group increased rapidly when the promises of the leaders regarding strikes in other mills and strike relief were not kept. Finally, the strike failed because of the pinch of poverty. The great majority of the strikers had no savings to tide them over a period of unemployment, and when, after two weeks of idleness, no adequate strike relief was furnished by the union, they were forced to return to work to avert starvation.

After the strike had failed the organizers continued their activities; pickets were maintained, rallies were held almost daily, and attempts were made to stage parades and demonstration, although the union strength steadily declined and the strike was hopelessly lost. The organizers gave

what strike relief their funds would permit. When the mill evicted some of the strikers from the mill houses, a tent colony was formed nearby to care for them. This latter development led indirectly to the fatal shooting of Chief Aderholt when, on June 7, he went to investigate a disturbance on the grounds.

Why did the organizers keep up this apparently hopeless agitation? They probably did so because they were unwilling to admit defeat, and because they had enough of a following to keep up a show. They had made great promises during the strike and if they gave up the fight in defeat and deserted those whom they had persuaded to continue the struggle, they would be ruined forever in southern textile circles. Finally, they continued because they were desperate and did not know what else to do. They had staked their all on Gastonia, and if that failed they had nothing else to which they could turn. These things being true, the organizers stayed on the scene and kept up their activities until the date of the fatal shooting.

During the two months following the beginning of the strike there was a growing irritation and hostility on the part of the citizens of Gaston County toward the organizers. As is usual in cases of such ill feeling, there was an inclination to place all the blame for the strike on the agitation of the organizers. This growing hatred for the members and organizers of the union was fanned to white heat by the killing of Chief Aderholt, but fortunately mob violence was averted in the arrests that followed. The events that followed during the next five months are too well known to need repetition here. Discussion of them and of the economic, social, political, and judicial conditions in North Carolina has waxed hot and often bitter. It can only be said that the num-

berless pathetic stories, the condemnation, the vituperations, and the epithets that have been written about Gaston County accomplish nothing toward a solution of the problems. They are useless or worse than useless, for they serve only to keep alive and to intensify the bitter feelings and make the anti-radicals stand by their guns (both figuratively and literally!) all the more diligently. A whole community and state cannot be coerced; the change of attitude, if it is to come, must come gradually and by different methods.

Regarding causes then, we may say that the fundamental, underlying causes of the whole disturbance are to be found mostly in the economic condition of the textile industry and the practices of the mill owners, and only to a small extent in the agitation of labor leaders. After developments had started, however, their direction was affected very much by the leaders. Personal considerations were the immediate cause of all the deeds of violence that have attracted the attention of the nation.

III

As conditions now stand what are the net results of the nine months warfare? As in most wars, the result is that all parties have lost. The county and state have received much unfavorable publicity, they are cursed with hatred and bitter feelings, they have incurred heavy police and legal expenses, the workers have gained nothing and the mill owners are just where they started. In addition, the cause of organized labor has been definitely and severely hampered. At one time, before the killing of Chief Aderholt, it seemed that the whole thing might result in a benefit to labor, because the public and the mill owners might see the necessity of having the textile labor well organized under responsible, conservative leadership in order to guard against the entrance of

communism. But now the emotions have been aroused too much; all labor organizations receive the same condemnation. At best it is difficult to get the southern public to distinguish between radical and conservative labor organizations, but at times like this all distinctions are swept aside—they are all classed as tools of the Devil. The *Gastonia Gazette* was reflecting the sentiment of the community when it said on October 22, 1929, "It will not be safe for any so-called labor agitator to be caught nosing around here any time soon. The folks here are simply not going to put up with it any longer." This is the handicap which organized labor inherits from the struggle, and it is one that will not disappear quickly, because, for many years to come, the opponents of unionism will be able to fan the hatred of unionism into flame by recalling the incidents of 1929.

But if there have been no material or tangible results, there have been demonstrated many principles from which those who are willing to learn may profit. It will indeed be deplorable if such a costly and painful lesson is not used to furnish guidance for the future. Probably the most apparent principle illustrated by the whole affair is that the organization of southern labor under radical leadership is impossible. The course of organized labor in the South will be difficult if kept strictly on an economic basis; if political, racial, and religious issues are brought in, the case will be hopeless. Furthermore, the leaders of the Gastonia strike have shown themselves, as individuals and as an organization, to be unworthy of the support of the friends of organized labor. As leaders they are incapable, irresponsible, vicious, and bitter. In their tactics they were, to say the least, exceedingly unwise, and childish in their efforts to attract attention by flaunting their beliefs in Com-

munism and racial equality in the face of a conservative community; their boasts and challenges that no one would dare harm them were invitations of trouble to the more aggressive of their opponents.

As an organization, the National Textile Workers Union is not a responsible organization capable of promoting the cause of the workers. It does not maintain sufficient funds for financing the organization of workers or the conduct of strikes, but depends upon raising money from radical sympathizers and the public by sensational methods after trouble has started. Further, the organizers of this union at Gastonia showed clearly that they had as their goal a complete overthrow of our present economic and social system and that under their leadership there would be no industrial peace until such aims were realized. Among their speeches and statements as reported by *The Charlotte Observer*, we find such statements as these: "Communism has worked successfully for eleven years in Russia and it can work successfully here. . . .

We demand control by educated labor. . . . This Lora mill and every other mill, under the communist plan would be operated by a general committee made up of one representative worker from each department. . . . There must be no division between white and colored workers." The organization is really engaged in a hopeless attempt to bring about a political, social and economic revolution, using southern textile labor as the sacrifice troops. It would be no less than fatal for southern labor to become enmeshed in such a scheme.

If these things are true, what can be done about it? The organizers of this union have been frightened away from Gaston County temporarily, but they are at work elsewhere, and will ultimately return to Gastonia unless something is

done to prevent it. There are no legal means, short of the abolition of the rights of free speech and free assembly, by which they can be stopped. The one and only legal solution lies in the removal of the conditions under which radicalism flourishes and the organization of labor under conservative, responsible leadership.

Now, few people in the South are so naïve or so optimistic as to believe that the mill interests will encourage or even permit, without a bitter struggle, the organization of mill labor. The employers do not yet grasp the significance of the handwriting that has been on the wall for the past year. Unionization *must* come eventually, and the union must be more than mere creatures of the employers; they must be independent units and free to join with the national union of the trade. Whether this development will come about peacefully or with much violence; whether the organization will be radical or conservative, will depend to a large extent upon the attitude and actions of the employers.

Now we have reached the vital, the controversial points. What are the changes that should be made in the textile industry? What are the conditions that should be removed? First of all, there is the question of the mill ownership of the mill villages, which has always been a sore spot and a source of weakness in the social and economic organization of the textile industry. So long as this system continues the textile industry can never have a vigorous, independent self-respecting labor force. It deadens the initiative and fetters the spirit of the workers, because it brings the whole life of the worker, as well as that of the family, under the influence of the employer. This system is also a sure source of trouble in a labor dispute. When the workers strike, the employers begin to evict them from the mill houses, which

always results in much bitter feelings and often violence. In Gastonia it resulted in the formation of a tent colony which was the scene, and, indirectly, the occasion of the fatal shooting of Chief Aderholt.

It may be argued against this proposition that the cotton mill worker has too much of a roving disposition to ever own his own home. Probably that disposition is a result of his never having had the money or the opportunity to own a home. The responsibility of providing his own home might prove a steadying influence and an incentive to better work. Incidentally, there is no better antidote to radicalism than the ownership of some property, especially a home.

If the workers are to own their own homes they must have better pay. So our second change would be an improvement in the wage rates of the laborers. Anyone who is familiar with the situation knows that at the present wages it is impossible for one person to maintain an average family at a decent standard of living, even in the cheap mill houses. What are the causes of the low wages? The employer will probably give two answers to this: first, the labor used is of a low, unskilled grade and is not worth any more; and second, the mills are not able to pay more because of the depressed state of the industry.

It is certainly true that the labor found in the cotton mills is not of the highest type. The laborers are comparatively unskilled, frequently they are mentally incapable of acquiring a high degree of skill, and sometimes they are lazy and shiftless. But do these facts mean that the production of these laborers does not justify wages which will allow them to maintain decent standards of living? In order to answer this we must know something about the earnings and the financial con-

ditions of the textile industry, which brings us to the second reason ascribed for the low wages—the inability of the mills to pay more.

But when we come to consider the financial condition of the textile mills, we find our selves in a blind alley. An attempt to discover the earnings or profits of the cotton mills of North Carolina would be a fruitless and a hopeless task. The mill owners as a rule, publish no financial reports, answer no questions as to earnings, and thus far have successfully strangled all attempts of governments or research institutions to investigate the industry. It is a frequent complaint of small stockholders that no reports, or only very inadequate ones, are given at stockholders meetings. If the mill officials expect the public to believe the statements they make about the financial conditions of the mills they should adopt a frank and sincere policy toward the public and give some figures to substantiate their statements if conditions are as they claim. What have they to fear from a policy of publicity as to earnings? Certainly, it cannot be the psychological influence in the security holders, for in a great majority of cases the stock is closely held by a group of people who know the conditions already. Neither should their standing with credit institutions be damaged thereby, for surely those institutions already know the facts. If it is the publicity to individual mills that is feared, for business reasons, there could be collective statistics compiled by trade organizations or by the proper governmental bureau, as is done in many other industries.

At any rate, there should be some definite facts upon which the public can base its opinions and its decisions in this struggle. If the people are to bear the expenses of troops, police forces, and long, costly trials in this case, they have

a right to know the facts about the parties involved. The workers have proclaimed their wages, correctly or incorrectly, to the whole world. It is time that we should have something from the other side.

Another factor which should receive attention is the matter of the organization and management of the mills. A great many of the mills of Gaston County are members of a "chain" of mills. These "chains" include from three to nine or ten mills each, all controlled by the same group of men. Each mill is usually a separate corporation and has a set of officers, who are usually identical for the different mills of the "chain." The management of all the mills of the "chain" is carried on in one office, with one office force. *The Report of the North Carolina Department of Labor and Printing, 1925-1926* shows that 62 mills in Gaston County, or 70 per cent of the 88 mills listed, have as president a man who is president of at least one other mill. Eighteen men, 16 of whom are from Gaston County, are presidents of 77 mills (65 in Gaston County and 12 outside) and secretaries or treasurers of 13 mills. Four of these men hold 38 presidential positions. In the secretarial positions, 10 men, exclusive of those mentioned above, hold 39 positions as secretary or treasurer.

Now it might well be that this form of organization is economical and desirable. If the men concerned are men of real executive ability and receive only reasonable salaries, this practice should be approved. But the impression prevails among many in Gaston County that these men receive a considerable salary for each position that they hold, that their salary incomes in some cases are very large, and that a considerable part of the operating incomes of the small mills goes to pay these salaries. If this impression is not correct, the mills would greatly strengthen their posi-

tion with the public by stating the facts. If it is true, it is, of course, a source of weakness to the industry and should be remedied.

Let us summarize briefly the recommendations. The textile industry should first of all adopt a policy of more publicity, both as to earnings and as to the organization of the mills. Unless there are good reasons to the contrary, the administration of the mills should be reorganized and all the interests of one group should be consolidated so that all the mills controlled by one group could be administered as one formal unit. Instead of having almost a hundred cotton mill companies, Gaston County should have only 25 or 30. With the larger units of administration should go more efficient systems of administration. In one Gaston County case that came to my knowledge several years ago the accounting for three or four mills was done by the junior member of the group which controlled the mills. He had had no special training for his position and his work was so confused that when the annual audit was made he had to be on hand at all times to give sufficient explanation so that the auditor could proceed. No enterprise should expect to succeed in the face of competition with such methods; the whole administrative side of the industry should be modernized.

These changes should make it possible to pay the workers better wages. Such an increase of wages, if it is not given as a gift of charity, nor yet grudgingly under absolute compulsion, can, if properly administered, be used in a way to improve the status of the workers, and stimulate them to greater production. If, in connection with the increased wages, the employers would work out a scheme by which the workers could purchase their own homes, the principal labor problem of the industry would be solved. The

whole industry would be on a sounder basis because of the better management and a more stable, better satisfied labor force, and soon earnings would be better and more stable.

In conclusion, it may be said in behalf of the mill owners that the present conditions are not due to the fact that they are a group of cruel, hard-hearted, slave-driving employers who have a passion for keeping the workers in industrial bondage. The majority of them have a real interest in the workers and are willing to try anything which they believe will help the workers without placing a burden upon the industry. It is only in the larger mills, and especially in those controlled by Northern interests, that the personal contact between employer and employee has been lost, and the drive policy used. The two principal reasons for the present situation are: first, that the textile industry, like many other industries in the past, has reached a stage where reorganization is necessary. In the past, like Topsy, it "just grew," without definite plan or control. Now, some kind

of order must be brought out of chaos, and the industry must be placed on such a basis that it can compete with the other manufacturing industries of the country regarding such matters as size of units, efficiency of administration, etc. The second reason for the present dilemma is that the employers, having had no contact with organized labor, and influenced by those spectacular and violent phases of union activities which get before the public; by evidences of radicalism such as those at Gastonia; and by the hatred of the New England textile interests for unions, have a deathly fear of organized labor, and are determined to fight it to the bitter end. The most of them are sincere in this fear. If they could be convinced that the organization of textile labor under wise, conservative leadership would not mean the doom of the textile industry, a great obstacle to the settlement of the present problem would be removed. On the other hand, any program of organization which shows signs of radicalism or is not kept well under control, will only increase that fear and make the fight more bitter.

The Committee on the Family of the Social Science Research Council is endeavoring to collect copies of questionnaires, schedules, and other blanks used by investigators studying the family. It is proposed to establish this material as a loan collection in the office of the Social Science Research Council in New York City, so that responsible institutions and investigators may borrow the collection for a limited period when organizing research plans.

The cooperation of all investigators in the field of the family is earnestly requested, since a fairly complete collection is desired, and you are asked to send immediately *three complete sets* of all such forms appropriately marked to show the institution and the name of the investigator to the Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York City.

TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

NOTES ON AN EDUCATIONAL POLICY FOR STUDENT RESEARCH

STUART A. RICE

FIELD research by graduate and undergraduate students of the social sciences is so definitely in accord with present educational philosophy as to need no endorsement. There is reason to suspect, however, that other less educational motives may be in part responsible for its vogue among instructors. Research is *demanding*; of time, or of funds with which to command the time of others; and both are usually unavailable. The student body provides the possibility of free assistance to an enterprising but harrassed instructor or to a coöperating social agency. It is a fortunate conjunction of interests if the research tasks that may be delegated to the student are sufficiently simple to be within student competence, and sufficiently complex to have educational value. But it may be difficult to conjoin both requirements. There is then a likelihood that the student may be assigned to routine or mechanical activities of a clerical nature.

A somewhat different situation is presented when the student does work which would normally be required by a vocational apprenticeship rather than by a university course of instruction. Still another situation appears when the

student has already attained to competence and is assigned to unremunerated tasks for which professional assistance might otherwise have to be engaged. A competent graduate student known to the writer is paying tuition for a "course" in an American University, the subject matter of which consists of independent and largely unsupervised work upon a research problem for a private social agency. The work done will place the agency under obligation to the instructor for "supplying a man," while the educational value to the student is reduced to an opportunity for the purchase of university credits. This suggests an old analogy: In pre-war days an investigation was made of the payments by the city of New York to child-caring institutions. The per-diem subsidy for each child was supplemented by an additional amount when "vocational training" was provided. In a number of instances "vocational training" was found to consist of washing dishes, scrubbing floors, and turning the washing machine handle for the institution.

The ethical obligations of an author for the extension of credit to those who have contributed of labor or ideas to his work have been interestingly examined by

Professor Truman L. Kelley.¹ The results of his questionnaire among colleagues at Stanford University seem to provide a set of norms concerning these obligations. A similar consensus concerning the obligations of instructors and social agencies with respect to student assistance in research might likewise be of value. The following statement has been drafted for our guidance at the University of Pennsylvania, and is here reproduced in the opinion that it may contribute to such a consensus.²

The department of Sociology is frequently consulted regarding investigations originated by social agencies. It is not infrequently asked to assign students to research projects involving the records of

such agencies. Since the department desires in such cases to be of all possible assistance consistent with its educational responsibilities, the following statement of policy has been prepared for its guidance and that of agencies concerned.

1. Research studies undertaken by graduate and undergraduate University students in connection with social agencies and for University credit must have as their prime consideration the educational benefit to be received by the student. Any other major consideration would be in conflict with the chief end of University instruction.

2. It follows that the tasks assigned to students should be such as will employ their reasoning and analytic powers. Routine work which might be performed by clerical assistants, were funds for their employment available, is not fairly to be regarded as a student research function. A minimum amount of such routine work may be viewed as desirable for practice in technique, or as essential for a better understanding by the student of the nature of the data and the conclusions drawn therefrom.

3. Since a secondary objective of the department of Sociology is to extend scientific knowledge concerning society, projects to which students are assigned should preferably have an interest sufficiently general to promote this end. Conversely, investigations the value of which are limited to a particular organization do not offer a preferred field for student research.

THE CONCEPT OF COMPLEXITY IN SOCIOLOGY: II¹

READ BAIN

ARE SOCIAL PHENOMENA MORE INTANGIBLE?

THE idea that social phenomena are more complex than other natural phenomena because they are more intangible is based fundamentally upon two misconceptions: first, as to the nature

of consciousness; second, as to the nature of knowing,—our old philosophical problems of mind and epistemology.

There have been, and unfortunately still are, many sociologists who regard social

¹ In a previous article (*Social Forces*, Dec., 1929, pp. 222-231) it was argued that the popular notion that social phenomena are much more "complex" than physical phenomena convinces some people of the impossibility of a science of sociology. It was also alleged that many sociologists excuse the backwardness of their science on the plea of the greater complexity of their data. In an attempt to analyze the concept, it was stated that social phenomena are often held to be more complex than other natural

phenomena because they are: 1. More numerous; 2. More unstable; 3. More disorderly; 4. More intangible; 5. More difficult to understand. All of these propositions were denied, but only the first three were discussed. It remains to examine the last two and to summarize the major reasons why so much confusion exists regarding the complexity of social phenomena. In most places where the adjective "social" occurs in these two articles, "societal" or "sociological" would be more accurate. I have used the three terms as synonyms as is common practice with many sociologists.

phenomena as "intermental response," and "mental" means "mind" and "mind" means some kind of metaphysical stuff that exists outside of, independent of, and unconditioned by, living protoplasm. Mind is a kind of superphysical substance, stuff, essence or entity which is "revealed" to us through cerebral activity, "secreted as the liver secretes bile," or occurs parallel to neuro-muscular activity. This idea is perhaps best exemplified by the writings of Durkheim, Fouillée, and other members of the French School, but representatives can be found in every country in every age. It is a belated hangover of Platonic realism, very dear to the hearts and minds of philosophers, preachers, and poets. It is one aspect of the vicious dichotomy of the universe into mind and matter, soul and body, flesh and spirit.

In the attempt to unify a universe thus dualistically severed, one type of thinkers since Descartes has chosen the monistic-materialism horn of the dilemma and another has postulated some variety of spiritualism. Happily, both of these views are rapidly going into the discard and we seem to be developing a neo-holozoism, or energism, which regards "reality" as neither mind nor matter. Mind and matter are conceived as special types of energy-organization as responded to by the energy-systems we call organisms. The kind of responses made by the cortico-muscular systems of men to physical and social objects is what we usually mean by mental activity. Mind-monism is as dead as matter-monism. Consciousness is variously interpreted as implicit verbal responses (Watson), temporary cortico-muscular reflex arcs (Bode), symbolic verbalism (Markey), neuro-psychic behavior (Bernard), and in many other similar ways, but practically all modern writers agree that there is no

mind stuff.² Hence, social phenomena involving "consciousness" must be dealt with as all other natural phenomena are, i.e., by observing, recording and generalizing the behavior of defined units.

When we think of intermental responses as existent always and only in some form of observable response, at least so far as the purview of science is concerned, the alleged intangibility of social phenomena largely disappears. Only sensible data are subject-matter for science. Can we observe social phenomena by our senses? Obviously so; and obviously we can do so without instrumental aids to our senses more easily and more accurately than can the physical scientists in any field when they transcend commonsense observation. To observe social data we need no eye-glasses, spy-glasses, micrometric scales, stress machines, amplifiers, test-tubes, or other tools. Social data are usually crude, obvious, ultra-tangible to naked eyes, ears, noses, fingers. Our problem is not difficulty of observation because of the intangibility of our data, but difficulties of hypothesis, selection, accurate, comprehensive records, classification, mathematical and logical manipulation, elimination of subjective bias, and

² J. B. Watson, *Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist* (1919), Ch. IX, "Explicit and Implicit Language Habits;" W. S. Hunter; "The Problem of Consciousness," *Psychological Review*, 31: 1-31, (1924); M. Picard: "The Coordinate Character of Feeling and Cognition," *Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Method* (1921), 18: 288-295; also, "The Unity of Consciousness," *id.*, 18: 347-57; B. H. Bode. "Consciousness and Psychology," pp. 228-81 in *Creative Intelligence* (1917), ed. John Dewey (This is the best discussion I have seen). For reference to Markey and Bernard, see note 4; K. S. Lashley, "The Behavioristic Interpretation of Consciousness," *Psychological Review*, 1923, pp. 237-72, 329-53 (good bibliography). See also, B. Russell, *The Analysis of Matter*, esp., "Recent Criticisms of 'Consciousness'", pp. 9-40.

anthropocentric frames of reference. So long as we try to base our science upon speculations regarding mental states, subjective motives, subconscious drives, non-sensible, hypothetical desires, wishes, and so on, we shall not escape our present magico-theologico-metaphysical myths. We shall continue to write many profound volumes that add little to the empirical generalizations of commonsense.³

The second fallacy regarding the tangibility of social phenomena hinges on epistemological confusion. From the point of view of science, we can know only what we can respond to by our senses. But something more than this is necessary. Other people must have sensory responses of a similar sort in the presence of similar objects. Another requisite is that this similarity of response must be communicable. This is done largely by means of words and gestures. We "know," and know that we know, when there is considerable agreement between ourselves and other competent observers regarding the similarity of our responses. All of this consciousness of similarity is dependent upon symbolical reference of some sort. These symbols are chiefly words, ranging in accuracy from the crude, empirical, vaguely understood words of commonsense to the highly developed, carefully defined technical terms, mathematical symbols, and formulas.⁴

³ I have discussed this idea somewhat fully in "An Attitude on Attitude Research," *American Journal of Sociology*, May, 1928. See also G. A. Lundberg, "Case Work and the Statistical Method," *Social Forces*, Sept., 1926, pp. 61-5. Dr. Bernard made this notation on the manuscript: "But only to be interpreted, hence, perceived, as social data on the basis of logical concepts and formulas perhaps more complicated than the measuring instruments of the physicist." This may well be true of many generalizations of social data.

⁴ A good exposition of this point of view is John F. Markey's, "The Place of Language Habits in a

It was pointed out above that all words are abstract. They center attention upon only certain aspects and relations of the relatively stable events for which they stand. We usually consider a symbol "concrete" if it refers to objects immediately present to our senses, "abstract" if it refers to generalizations regarding objects not present. But it is very clear that when we respond to this present object by the symbol "table," we are merely symbolizing one of the countless aspects of the energy-system, "table." We have selected only one of the possible human responses (relations), and have centered our attention upon that. In other words, our "table" is an abstraction. We can never "observe" the table as a "whole," because the possible responses to it and relations of it to other objects are innumerable. We could spend our lifetime "studying the table," i.e., making all of these possible human responses to it, and yet never "know it as a whole." Such an intensive study would require a mastery of all knowledge. There is truth in the poetry about "the flower in the crannied wall."

From this point of view, then, social phenomena are no more intangible, and no more "complex," than physical phenomena. We observe them both by

Behavioristic Explanation of Consciousness," *Psychological Review*, Sept., 1915, pp. 384-401. See also L. L. Bernard, "Neuro-Psychic Technique," *Psychological Review*, Nov., 1923, pp. 407-37 and Ch. X in his *Social Psychology* (1926). See C. W. Morris, *Journal of Philosophy* (1927), 24: 253-62, 281-91, "The Concept of the Symbol," for a good critical discussion of the idea. See G. A. Mead, same journal (1922), 19: 157-63, "A Behavioristic Account of the Significant Symbol;" J. F. Markey, *The Symbolic Process and Its Integration in Children* (1928). For a good brief account of the symbolic nature of language, see W. S. Hunter, "The Symbolic Process," *Psychological Review* (1924), pp. 478-97.

symbolic reference. We observe all things by selecting certain aspects of them and symbolizing these aspects. We see things partially, "through a glass darkly." It is as easy to observe a "whole" city or nation, as to observe a "whole" table; i.e., both are impossible except as we abstract certain features of them and neglect the remainder. We observe them partially, make generalizations by symbolic reference, and let our abstractions stand for the whole. It is an elaborate synecdoche. The city is as tangible as the table to those who have proper symbolical means of knowing cities. The only question the scientist raises is whether the generalizations are based upon sense experience which other competent observers can have.⁵

So we may dismiss the doctrine of the complexity of social phenomena as due to their intangibility because we "know" them in the same way that we know physical phenomena, and because the "intermental responses" are always "revealed" through sensible behavior. In one sense, social phenomena are more tangible because we can observe most, if not all of them, without the assistance of sense-extending instruments, though we must use sense-objectifying aids in observing and recording our data if they are to be made useful for science. Only thus can we get sufficient numbers of comparable data to reveal the relatively repetitive

uniformity of behavior which is the sole object of science.

ARE SOCIAL PHENOMENA MORE DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND?

The foregoing discussion implicitly answers this question. We must, however, grant that much social interaction is not understood at present or else is misunderstood. In the same breath we must assert that the same is true of much physical phenomena. It is probably true that empirical (non-scientific) generalizations regarding social phenomena are more valid than many of those regarding physical phenomena. This would naturally follow from the greater tangibility, greater orderliness and simplicity of the commonly experienced social phenomena. The partial invalidity of the commonsense generalizations of folklore, adages, proverbs, moral judgments, religious and political theories, processes of leadership, effects of weather, and topography, etc., on societal phenomena, is certainly no greater than the nonsense of empirical generalizations regarding the growth of stones, weather-signs, folklore of gestation, evolution, creation, effects of drugs, "essence" of herbs, etc., in chemistry, physics and biology.

At the same time it must be admitted that the physical sciences have far out-run the social sciences in demonstrating the nonsense of commonsense generalizations. But it remains notable that many of these empirical "principles" of physical science are at least partial truths. Ordinarily, the scientific "explanations" are radically different from those of commonsense, but the observations and generalizations (implicit quantifications) of commonsense have often proved "true."⁶

⁵ See Sellars, *Evolutionary Naturalism*, p. 305, "It is no more difficult to know other minds than to know physical things." That is, both are "known" only through symbols of sense-experience unremittently tested by logical and scientific methods. Dr. Bernard objects that "it is much more difficult to achieve an adequate working symbolization (adjustment) of the city." That depends upon one's criteria of "adequate adjustment." My point is that a "complete" understanding of both "table" and "city" are alike impossible, and that such understanding as we have of both (i.e., adjustments to them), depends upon the same process of symbolical reference.

⁶ For good examples of this see W. J. Humphreys, *Weather Proverbs and Paradoxes* (1923), and L. Clendening, "Drugs," *American Mercury*, March, 1926, pp. 266-72.

But sociology and other social sciences are rapidly building up a vast body of sound scientific knowledge which by reason of its quantic nature and criticism of commonsense, or both, sounds as strange to the man on the street as endocrinology, radioactivity, or theories of immune sera. I am not sure that such ideas as comparative ethics, the newer ideas of mind and consciousness, the nature of self, acculturation, miscegenation, birth control, criminology, folkways, and mores, relation of machines to culture patterns, relations of parents to children, of men to women, whether married or unmarried, the irrational nature of customs and conventions, etc., are not just as dramatic, incomprehensible, and astounding to the "average" man as the latest physical, chemical, and biological inventions and discoveries.

If by "understanding," we mean understanding the technique by which the generalizations were deduced, it is obvious that the ordinary man is much more nearly able to understand and use the technique of social science than he is that of most physical science. If we mean by "understanding," acceptance, I think a good case could be made for at least as great, if not greater, speed in accepting the findings of social science. It is true there are fewer hunted and hounded physical than social scientists today, but the hunting of social scientists is not so violent as the hunting of physical scientists in the days of Galileo and Copernicus. However, evolutionary biologists and geologists do not yet rest on beds of roses in all parts of the land. The physicists (some of them) are being accepted because radioactivity, cosmic rays, energism, etc., "prove the Bible" and the existence of the "spirit."

But if the social scientists of today and tomorrow are having an easier time than the physical scientists of today and yester-

day, it is largely because more people are willing to extend scientific technique to the study of social phenomena and to accept the findings as "true." Physical science has pioneered the way. We have the "scientific habit." It has required less than thirty years to get sufficient understanding of the scientific study and treatment of juvenile offenders so that there is scarcely a city in the land that does not have a juvenile court. It is true that most of them leave much to be desired in the way of organization and technique, but most people understand and approve the idea. Millions of farmers neither understand, approve, nor practice such simple techniques of physical science as crop rotation and scientific breeding and feeding. It took fifty or sixty years to convince English farmers that iron plow-shares did not "poison the soil" and that "breaking grass" was not sure disaster. One might go on forever. Physical phenomena are not easier, not so easy, to understand, either scientifically nor popularly, as social phenomena are; nor are the ideas and techniques of the former always popularly accepted more readily than those of the social sciences. Both have to overcome the terrible irrational inertia of the "animal that laughs but seldom thinks."

The foregoing discussion has merely pointed out that some of the scientific formulations of sociology are more easily understood and more readily accepted than many of those in physical science. This does not meet the contention that social phenomena are more difficult to understand, i.e., to explain, *scientifically*, than are physical phenomena; therefore the former are more "complex" than the latter. This is one of the outstanding defense mechanisms of sociologists. The foregoing discussion has largely exploded it, but one common error, which is largely responsible for the condition must be

discussed briefly. This is what may be called the Fallacy of Explanation by Reduction. This has been, and still is the *bête noire* in the sociologist's zoo of methodological monstrosities.

It is a commonplace axiom or dogma of science that there are certain empirical autonomous orders or levels of natural phenomena. A common categorization of them is physical, biological, psychological, sociological. The number of levels is immaterial, but from the time of Comte, these have had general acceptance. Some writers make a distinction between social and cultural which is probably valid. The materialistic and spiritualistic monists have tried in vain to bridge the gaps between the various levels.⁷ While it is obvious that each merges into the other almost imperceptibly, still, in general, we have no difficulty in classifying most sense-objects as belonging to one of these levels. There is also fairly complete agreement that they represent, in a

rough way, the chronological order of appearance, at least on this earth. Still, we are beginning to suspect that all four orders of phenomena may be appearing (as they are obviously disappearing,—or at least changing their unit energy-organization) on earth at the present time.⁸

The difficulty that arises in connection with this view is closely connected with the Comte-Spencer hierarchy which has been implicitly if not explicitly accepted by subsequent writers. The fundamental fallacy arises when we begin to consider each successive order as dependent upon the preceding, more complex and unstable, less tangible, and explicable only in terms of the preceding. This is the fallacy of Explanation by Reduction. Thus Hall writes, "True types of character can be determined only by studying the animal world."⁹ Allport pushes the reduction back to chemistry and physics.¹⁰ The battle rages at present between some

⁷ For distinctions of the levels, see F. H. Hankins, *An Introduction to the Study of Society* (1928), pp. 31-35; C. A. Ellwood, *The Psychology of Human Society* (1925), Ch. II; A. L. Kroeber, "The Superorganic," *American Anthropologist*, 19: 163-213 (1919). For Spencer's attempt and failure to bridge the gaps, see W. H. Hudson, *Herbert Spencer* (1908). For a more logically acceptable attempt (to me) to explain the origin of levels of natural phenomena see C. L. Morgan, *Emergent Evolution* (1923), and W. M. Wheeler, "Emergent Evolution and the Social," *Science*, 64: 433-40. The "Gestalt theorists" seem to have much the same point of view. See M. P. Follett, *Creative Experience*, (1924), for discussion and references. The idea of emergent evolution seems quite similar to the old idea of creative synthesis, expounded by Ward, Bergson, Driesch and the orthogenetic evolutionists. This conception was present in germ, at least, during the middle ages and perhaps among the Greeks. While these ideas are probably somewhat different from the metaphysical conception implicit in this paper, the methodological implications are the same, viz., that any type of phenomena, however the "level" may be defined, must be "explained" in terms of that level.

⁸ New atoms may be forming all the time. There is no evidence that "life" is not originating every year. Some bacteriologists and mycologists hold this view. When animals begin to "think," is an open question. We know amoebas can "learn." Some of the social insects and non-human vertebrates appear to have and transmit a "social heritage." See R. A. Millikan and G. H. Cameron, "Origin of the Cosmic Ray," *Scientific American*, Aug., 1928, p. 137 ff. C. Lloyd Morgan, *Introduction to Comparative Psychology* (1903), Ch. III; Stevenson Smith, "The Limits of Educability in Paramoecium," *Journal of Comparative Neurology and Psychology*, 1908, p. 503; R. M. Yerkes, *Almost Human* (1925); W. Köhler, *The Intelligence of Apes* (1925); W. M. Wheeler, *Social Life Among the Insects* (1923); H. Hart and A. Pantzer, "Have Subhuman Animals Culture?" *American Journal of Sociology*, May, 1925, pp. 703-9; Read Bain, "The Culture of Canines," *Sociology and Social Research*, May, 1929.

⁹ G. S. Hall, *Psychology of Adolescence* (1907), II: 60.

¹⁰ F. H. Allport, "The Group Fallacy and Social Science," *American Journal of Sociology*, May, 1925, p. 699.

sociologists and most psychologists as to whether psychology is basic to sociology. Trotter, Wallas, McDougall, Ellwood, and many others seem to take this view. The assumption is that while social phenomena are *sui generis*, yet to be "explained" they must be "reduced" to psychological phenomena; which, in turn are reduced to biological; which, in turn, are explained in physico-chemical terms,—and so by this declension we plunge into the all-engulfing waters of metaphysics where nothing can be "explained."

If the nominalistic view of this paper be accepted, it follows inevitably that any Explanation by Reduction does not "explain" because it immediately changes the universe of discourse and we are no longer talking about the aspects of the world with which we started. "Table" is explained on the sociological level when we classify it by its uses, cost, design, etc., and describe it in terms of human values and relations. We can similarly explain it on the organic and inorganic levels. Taking the psychologic level to refer to individual mental behavior, we might "explain" it on this level by describing its relations to a particular individual in his non-social behavior, if any exists. All *human* psychological behavior is sociological. The residue belongs on the biologic level. Human psychology appears to be in a process of fission, one half going back to biology from which it came, and the other becoming social psychology, or a phase of sociology. Comte's "cerebral (or neuromuscular) physiology" was a good term.

In discussing Allport's paper referred to above, Goldenweiser said something which should be pasted on the blotter of every sociologist. "Modern science conceives of explanation as conceptualized description. . . . If a fact in one level is explained in unit terms of the same

level, the advantage of the procedure lies in the fact that the autonomy of the level is preserved and the mystery (or at least the puzzle) of the transformation of its terms into those of another level avoided.

. . . . If, on the other hand, a fact in one level is explained by unit factors from another level, this leads to an ultimate conceptual unification of the universe, to a monistic world-view."¹¹ Furthermore, it means that the fact is not "explained" at all, because it no longer exists when it is viewed from the aspect of the other levels. It is a fine case of throwing out the baby with the bath. The result of such explanation is that we either merely make a series of true statements about two or more energy-structures, or else we erect an elaborate analogy between them. In either case, the result is confusion and that illusion of knowledge which is a dangerous thing. We can make a number of true statements that will apply equally well to tables, chairs, men, poems, inorganic compounds, organic compounds, religious institutions, etc., but no one imagines we have thus "explained" any of them. It is true that iron and hydrogen both expand in the presence of heat, both have mass, both have atoms, etc., but such statements do not "explain" either. The only procedure that does so is to describe their behavior in quantitative units. The fact that some of the same units can be used to describe both is fortunate from the standpoint of economy in recording behavior, but that is not the essence of the explanation. We can use some of the same units, or multiples of them, to describe phenomena that are related to so-

¹¹ Discussion of Allport's paper cited above, 706. For similar views, see Sellars, *op. cit.*, p. 331-2; C. H. Cooley, "Reflections upon the Sociology of Herbert Spencer," *American Journal of Sociology*, Sept., 1920, p. 139; L. T. Hobhouse, *Social Evolution and Political Theory* (1911), p. 28-29; A. N. Whitehead, *The Concept of Nature* (1920), p. 97.

cial behavior, e.g., the correlation of size (mass) of men with occupations, leadership, etc. But some of the units necessary to explain iron and hydrogen are different, as their atoms and molecules, tensile strength, coefficient of elasticity, indefinite expansibility, and so on.

The chief difficulty with Explanation by Reduction is that it often transforms terms, deals in crude analogy, blurs the differences, assumes a unilinear continuity in energy-emergents, and uses general terms that apply equally well to many things. Referring to the inability of psychology to explain culture, Lowie says, "We get simply general formulae about feelings and will that are equally applicable to the case of the man's beating his wife or to the boy's resisting the temptations of the lolly-pop."¹² American ethnologists have long been accustomed to explain cultural patterns on the basis of the situation level; i.e., to be content with conceptualized description of their data; the behaviorists are beginning to do this in psychology; the sociologists must follow. It does us no good to know all about the instincts (if any), reflexes, hormones, enzymes, synapses, musculature, bio-chemistry, and inorganic chemistry of men, *so far as a sociological explanation is concerned*, for just as soon as we change our attention to these things the social phenomenon no longer exists as an object of attention.

Therefore, it is contended that the claim that sociology has to "wait for psychology (or any other science) to develop," is unsound and absurd. If psychology knew all things on its own level (if it has one), it would not help sociology to understand sociological data. What we have been doing is to wait for psychology to

develop into social psychology or sociology. This fallacy of Explanation by Reduction, based upon the fallacy of a dependent hierarchy of natural phenomena levels of increasing complexity, intangibility, and instability is largely responsible for the arrested development of sociology. Happily, we are now beginning to see the error of our ways.

CAUSES OF CONFUSION CONCERNING THE CONCEPT OF COMPLEXITY

It is the thesis of this paper that social phenomena are no more "complex" than other types of natural phenomena, and in some respects, less complex; i.e., they are less numerous, at least as stable and orderly, are more tangible, and therefore easier to "understand," both popularly and scientifically. Some of the reasons advanced to account for the "illusion of complexity" are the following.

1. *The Comte-Spencer Hierarchy of Sciences.* While it is agreed that the conception of a chronological order of cosmic appearance of certain types or levels of phenomena may be sound, it was pointed out that there is reason for doubting even this. Certainly, there are no convincing historical or logical reasons for the assumption of a unilateral, dependent, chronological order in the appearance of the various sciences, nor is there any reason to suppose that the later emergent levels are more complex, heterogeneous, and unstable than the earlier.

2. *The Fallacy of Explanation by Reduction.* This is a logical result of the Spencerian evolutionary concept. It inevitably leads to a world monism of some sort. Most physical science has been based explicitly or implicitly upon a materialistic, mechanistic monism. Most all particularistic, simplistic social theories commit this fallacy of Explanation by Reduction. Crude analogies, *non sequiturs*, transforma-

¹² R. H. Lowie, *Culture and Ethnology* (1917), p. 15. For a fine discussion of this point of view see P. Sorokin, *Contemporary Sociological Theories* (1928), pp. 29-37.

tion of terms, and speculative inferences abound in these reduction explanations. If we start with the assumption that social phenomena must be explained in terms of sciences of the lower levels,—of course no science of sociology is necessary or possible. Many sociologists fall into this pit of confusion. While asserting the autonomous nature of social data, they still rely upon Explanation by Reduction.

3. *The Difficulty of Escaping Anthropomorphism and Anthropocentrism.* Every science has this trouble, but it is especially vicious in the social sciences, perhaps because social phenomena are so tangible, because social adjustments are so often unconscious and irrational, because human values are so much more closely connected with social data than with most non-social data. But it is also largely due to the fact that sociology is so often defined in terms of social betterment, welfare, progress, etc., and is so often taught and practiced by men who came into the field without sound scientific orientation. The note of evangelism sounds clear in much so-called sociological literature. Sociology, probably more than any other natural science, has recruited its professors from the ranks of disillusioned, discouraged preachers, missionaries, theological students, social workers, reformers and other religio-ethico-minded persons. It is difficult indeed for these leopards to change their spots. Some have done so, but many are distinctly torn between conflicting impulses. Many of us hold theoretically to the idea that we should study human beings as mycologists study fungi, but in practice, we usually come tardy off. We try to preserve the "dignity of man," the hegemony of the human, and are led into the fallacy that sociology is the "most important science," the most difficult, the most complex. Behold what

great men are we! The vatic frenzy of much sociological writing is the proof of anthropocentrism. We think we must prove and promote "progress."

4. *The Failure to Use Scientific Method.* This grows out of the above misconceptions. Most of us are not yet clear as to the nature of mind and the nature of knowing. We lean too heavily upon the more "advanced" sciences. We are not thoroughly committed to the doctrine that social phenomena are natural phenomena and that social science must be natural science if it is to be science at all. From the security of our arm-chairs we still try to deal with data that are not sensible; hence, much of our "science" is nonsense. Most sociologists should read the "Grammar of Science" once a year.

It should be noted, however, that this criticism does not apply to many recently trained sociologists. The contempt of other natural scientists is forcing us to acquire a sounder scientific point of view. We are rapidly putting our house in order—so rapidly that from a research as well as a theoretical point of view, many sociologists know more about the logic and methods of science than do many of their most vitriolic critics.¹⁸

5. Finally, it is contended that the assertion of the greater complexity of social phenomena is largely a defense mecha-

¹⁸ For some of the recent literature on this subject, see, L. L. Bernard, "The Development of Method in Sociology" *The Monist*, April, 1928, pp. 292-320; also, his "The Objective Viewpoint in Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology*, Nov. 1929, pp. 288-325; Read Bain, "Scientific Method in Sociology," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, Sept., 1926, pp. 38-49; L. L. Thurstone, "Attitudes Can be Measured," *American Journal of Sociology*, January, 1928, pp. 529-54; Albion Small, "Sociology," *Encyclopedia Americana*, 25: 207-18; F. S. Chapin, *Field Work and Social Research* (1920); one of the best discussions is G. A. Lundberg, *Social Research: Methods of Gathering Data* 1929, both from the standpoint of theory and practice.

nism of sociologists, a rationalization of their failure to deliver the "scientific goods."

From the point of view of this paper, complexity means nothing except in relation to organic adjustment. A situation is complex when adjustment is inadequate. It is "simple" when satisfactory adjustment had been attained. Consider a man driving in congested traffic for the first time. The situation is terribly "complex." He does not have adjustment mechanisms adequate to the situation. Soon, however, he is thinking about his business, talking animatedly to seat-mates, and doing all manner of things other than "paying attention" to his driving. The same situation, formerly very "complex" is now ridiculously "simple." He has acquired adequate, automatic, habitual responses.

The same reasoning applies to all natural phenomena, including the social. Complexity merely means the non-existence of scientific categories describing relatively stable uniformities. Whenever natural phenomena fall into such energy-systems and we are able to make accurate (statistical) generalizations regarding their repetitive (predictable) behavior, complexity becomes simplicity. All scientific formulations are simple (though the techniques

of making them may be very difficult), because they enable us to make more satisfactory adjustments within our universe of discourse and previously defined frames of reference.

It has been my purpose to show that there is no intrinsic reason for believing that social phenomena are more complex than physical phenomena. For the most part, social phenomena are at present conceived in commonsense terms; the empirical adjustments made on this basis are simple, tangible, and understandable to everyone. It is only when we transcend the narrow irrational limits of commonsense space-and-time spans that social phenomena seem complex. But as soon as we develop adequate adjustment patterns on the basis of scientific generalization, they suddenly become as simple as driving a car in heavy traffic, or dressing for dinner. We thus "learn our way about" in the scientific social world and it becomes very "simple."

The moral of the tale is that sociologists should spend less time pleading complexity and more time doing the research that changes "complexity" into simplicity. In many respects our task is much simpler, more tangible, less tedious, and more dramatic than the tasks of astronomers and bio-chemists.

SOCIAL MOBILITY AMONG FARM OWNER OPERATORS

W. A. ANDERSON

THE degree of social mobility taking place among farm owner operators in North Carolina is indicated by the results obtained from a study of over 200 families in 1928.

The degree of territorial shifting among the farm owning and operating group is very low. North Carolina owners are an immobile group. Ninety-one per cent

were born within the state, 81 per cent within the county, and 66 per cent within the township where they now live and farm. Had it been ascertained how many of those not born in the township, county, or state, were born in adjoining political units, practically all geographic mobility would be accounted for.

North Carolina is a relatively old farm-

ing area. The lack of mobility among its owner operator class leads to the suggestion that, in old and settled agricultural communities, mobility of farm owner operators is slight. Farmers do not move long distances to occupy and work land, but remain in the same region where they were born. Nor, is the farm owner operating class made up to any large extent of persons born and reared in villages, towns, or cities. Ninety-seven per cent of the farmers in this study were born in the open country. There was no movement of people from the villages, towns, or cities, to the farm. Farm owner operators are recruited from persons born in the open country.

INTER-OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

Have these North Carolina farmers changed their occupations, or do they enter farming and remain in that occupation? Of 196 farmers reporting, 101, or 51.5 per cent, have been engaged in farming all their working days, while 51, or 26 per cent, have had one occupation beside farming. Twenty-two per cent had more than two other occupations. These farmers spent an insignificant part of their working time in occupations other than farming. The total group had worked an average of 24.4 years, and spent 23.6 years consecutively in farming. Thus it is evident that there is practically no shifting to and from other occupations by the land owning farmers. Once the farmer has invested in fixed and immovable property, he becomes permanently located. Much of the farm land operated by owners is purchased from the father, in fact, is the "home farm" which has been handed down to the sons of the family.

INTRA-OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

Seventy per cent of the farmers in this study began their farming career as

owners, that is, on the highest rung of the agricultural ladder. Sixteen per cent started as renters, while 14 per cent started as laborers. In other words, 30 per cent of the owner operators climbed the agricultural ladder.

TRANSMISSION OF OCCUPATION FROM GENERATION TO GENERATION

The degree of transmission of farming as an occupation through three generations was studied. Ninety-two per cent of the fathers of the farmers studied, were farmers, while 79 per cent of the grandfathers were also farmers. Probably no other occupation shows such a high degree of occupational transmission as does farming. This high percentage of transmission is also true for farmers' wives. The fathers of 84 per cent of the wives of the farmers studied, were farmers, while 80 per cent of their grandfathers had been farmers. The transmission of occupation is not only true for males, but is also true for the females. Farmers marry the daughter's of farmers, and the farm family usually consists of male and female heads whose parents were farmers.

WHY THEY FARM

When asked to state the chief reasons for selecting farming as an occupation, 190 farmers gave a total of 480 replies, or an average of 2.5 reasons each. Seventy-eight per cent stated that they farmed because of their liking for the occupation. Forty-seven per cent said they farmed because they owned land. Thirty-eight per cent stated that they farmed because they inherited land. The ownership of land, either through purchase or inheritance, is therefore an important influence. Forty per cent of the farmers stated that they expected to make a good living, while 30 per cent gave financial gain as a reason. Only 18 per cent stated that the

suggestion of their fathers lead them into farming.

If these farmers are typical, owner operators follow farming as an occupation because of their interest in the work and their possession of land.

CONCLUSIONS

The chief conclusion, tentatively suggested, is that farm owner operators are not a mobile class in North Carolina. The importance of this immobility, geographi-

cally or occupationally, from the point of view of rural organization, lies in the fact that such an immobile group, with long-time attachment to the community of which they are members, and with which they are bound by economic ties, may form the nucleus around which the building of strong community life is possible. On the other hand, such immobility may lead to narrow experience, to the development of ethnocentrism, and make the establishment of a strong social organization impossible.

THE RELATION OF EDUCATIONAL STATUS TO INTERSTATE MOBILITY

SANFORD R. WINSTON

THE Western European culture of which we are a part has certain traits which distinguish it, in degree, at least, from other cultures. One of these traits is the rapidity with which people circulate from one area to another, and, within a given area, from one section to another.¹ The United States, while part of the larger Western European culture, is in some respects a sub-area. It is within this latter area that an attempt is made to quantitatively study not only social circulation but also certain factors which appear to affect it.

Within the United States, the Bureau of the Census obtains data relative to the shifting of individuals from one state to another. Specifically, data are obtainable which give the percentage of various color and nationality classes who were born in a specified state, but who were living in other states in 1920.²

For the purposes of this study, it is

¹ Pitirim Sorokin in his "Social Mobility" has made such a thorough study that it is unnecessary to present data here supporting this point.

² *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, II, Ch. XII, Table 5.*

necessary to exclude various groups which would affect the homogeneity of the data inasmuch as these groups exhibit differing rates and degrees of mobility. Foreign-born individuals are automatically excluded from consideration, i.e., they of course have not been born in the United States. Native whites of foreign-born or mixed parentage, however, are to be eliminated also because an analysis of the data reveals the fact that immigrants tend to settle in border and coastal states, which leads to the probability of a relatively high percentage of mobility on the part of their native born children to other states. Various factors, such as the lack of integration of the children in the familial and other less primary groups, operate to produce this effect, but it is not the purpose of the present study to analyze this important aspect of American mobility. In addition, the Negro group is eliminated, partly because Negro mobility has been sectional rather than national in scope, and partly to secure a more homogeneous racial group. Other colored groups are also excluded.

There remains a fairly homogeneous

population, native whites of native parentage, to be studied. Table I gives the ranking by states of the percentage of native white persons of native parentage born in a specified state and living in other states in 1920. Analysis of the data reveals not only certain sectional differ-

uniform but it suggests further investigation. Moreover, the relative position of certain states such as New York and Pennsylvania suggests that factors, such as urbanization and industrial opportunities are also affecting the standing of the various states. Opportunity within a state

TABLE I
PERCENTAGE OF NATIVE WHITE INHABITANTS OF NATIVE PARENTAGE BORN IN A GIVEN STATE AND LIVING IN OTHER STATES IN 1920, ARRANGED IN RANK ORDER

STATE	PERCENTAGE OF INHABITANTS BORN IN STATE AND LIVING IN OTHER STATES	STATE	PERCENTAGE OF INHABITANTS BORN IN STATE AND LIVING IN OTHER STATES
Nevada.....	53.9	Kentucky.....	25.7
Wyoming.....	39.8	Wisconsin.....	24.9
Kansas.....	38.0	Connecticut.....	24.2
Vermont.....	37.5	Washington.....	23.6
New Hampshire.....	37.2	Oklahoma.....	23.1
Iowa.....	37.0	Virginia.....	22.7
Colorado.....	34.5	Alabama.....	22.6
Nebraska.....	33.9	Utah.....	22.6
Missouri.....	33.2	Ohio.....	22.5
South Dakota.....	32.7	New Mexico.....	21.8
North Dakota.....	32.6	Maryland.....	20.7
Montana.....	32.1	Massachusetts.....	20.1
Delaware.....	31.2	New York.....	19.8
Arizona.....	30.7	Michigan.....	18.8
Illinois.....	30.6	West Virginia.....	18.1
Arkansas.....	30.5	Georgia.....	18.0
Idaho.....	29.4	New Jersey.....	17.6
Indiana.....	27.2	Pennsylvania.....	17.2
Mississippi.....	27.1	Texas.....	16.2
Oregon.....	27.0	South Carolina.....	15.3
Rhode Island.....	27.0	North Carolina.....	14.3
Tennessee.....	26.6	Florida.....	13.7
Maine.....	26.4	Louisiana.....	12.9
Minnesota.....	26.2	California.....	11.6

Source: Fourteenth Census of U. S., II, Ch. V, Table 16.

ences but also differences in neighboring states. Obviously certain factors are operating to effect differential rates of mobility.

One who has studied the social morphology of the various states will note that states of relatively low educational status have fairly low mobility of individuals to other states. The relationship is not

is undoubtedly an important controller of migration elsewhere.

A quantitative expression for educational status is obtained from the percentages of illiteracy in each state, for native whites of native parentage, 10 years of age and over. Illiteracy is a measure of complete lack of institutionalized educa-

tion, lying at the lowest end of the educational scale. It is amenable to quantitative determination, with a sufficiently low degree of error to make it reliable, particularly where native whites of native parentage only are considered. This appears to be the most satisfactory measure of educational status for the entire United States which is at present available.

The relationship between illiteracy³ and mobility for native whites of native parentage, which is linear, is found to be expressed by a coefficient of correlation of $-.40 \pm .08$. This is interpreted as showing that there is a tendency for the illiterate native whites to be less mobile than those of higher educational status.

The simple correlation, like practically all simple correlations, measures the relationship between two phenomena, to the neglect of other important phenomena. In this case, one factor of importance is the degree to which a state is urbanized. The migration from rural to urban districts is an important world-wide phenomenon, to which the United States is no exception. Where a state is highly urbanized, it tends to act as a partial deterrent to migration to other states. Moreover the presence of a more highly urbanized state nearby would act as an attracting factor to inhabitants of other states. It is desired, therefore, to obtain a truer measure of the relationship between low educational status and inter-state mobility, and this is secured through the utilization of the method of partial correlation, whereby one can mathematically control the factor of urbanization, and thus measure the relationship of low educational status to mobility, when both factors are independent of the variable of urbanization.

³ The data for illiteracy are obtained from the *Fourteenth Census of the United States*, II, Ch. XII, Table 7.

When the percentage of urbanization (of native whites of native parentage, 10 years of age and over)⁴ is held constant, the resulting partial correlation is $r_{12.3} = -.59 \pm .06$.⁵ The increase in the negative correlation from $-.40 \pm .08$ to $-.59 \pm .06$ is to be noted. This is interpreted as being due to the controlling of urbanization, which permits the determination of the truer relationship between the variable of illiteracy and the mobility variable. The point that greater urbanization tends to obscure the negative relationship between illiteracy and inter-state mobility would seem to be borne out. Illiterate communities are apparently less mobile than literate ones. Hornell Hart's analysis of data secured for the state of Iowa reveals the same general conclusion.⁶

A second disturbing factor appears to be that of industrialization. The more highly industrialized states, it is believed, offer greater opportunity to larger numbers within their borders, and thus act as a partial deterrent to migration to other states. On the other hand, the presence of an industrialized state acts as an attraction to workers of nearby states. It is deemed desirable to control this factor by again resorting to partial correlation. As an index of industrialization, the choice lies between the amount of capital utilized

⁴ Computed from the *Fourteenth Census of the United States*, II, Ch. I, Table 20 and II, Ch. II, Table 13.

⁵ The subscripts of r are indicative of the following variables: 1 = percentage of native whites of native parentage born in a specified state and living in other states; 2 = percentage of illiteracy, native white of native parentage, 10 years of age and over; 3 = percentage of urbanization of native whites of native parentage, 10 years of age and over; 4 = percentage of male wage earners in manufacturing, 15 years of age and over.

⁶ "Selective Migration as a Factor in Child Welfare in the United States with Especial Reference to Iowa," *Univ. of Iowa Studies, Studies in Child Welfare*, I, No. 7, 1921.

TABLE II

DATA UTILIZED IN THE CORRELATION OF ILLITERACY AND MOBILITY TO OTHER STATES, NATIVE WHITES OF NATIVE PARENTAGE

STATE	PERCENTAGE OF INHABITANTS BORN IN STATE AND LIVING IN OTHER STATES	PERCENTAGE ILLITERATE, 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER	PERCENTAGE OF URBANIZATION 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER	PERCENTAGE OF MALE WAGE EARN- ERS IN MANUFAC- TURING 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER
	X ₁	X ₂	X ₃	X ₄
Maine.....	26.4	1.3	31.7	24.5
New Hampshire.....	37.2	0.6	49.1	35.6
Vermont.....	37.5	1.1	26.2	22.4
Massachusetts.....	20.1	0.3	90.3	36.4
Rhode Island.....	27.0	0.5	93.9	42.6
Connecticut.....	24.2	0.4	57.9	45.4
New York.....	19.8	0.6	67.1	23.5
New Jersey.....	17.6	0.7	68.4	35.0
Pennsylvania.....	17.2	0.8	56.3	30.3
Ohio.....	22.5	1.0	55.0	29.4
Indiana.....	27.2	1.4	45.5	22.3
Illinois.....	30.6	1.1	52.1	19.9
Michigan.....	18.8	0.6	55.2	30.5
Wisconsin.....	24.9	0.5	44.1	28.1
Minnesota.....	26.2	0.4	47.0	11.1
Iowa.....	37.0	0.5	38.3	7.9
Missouri.....	33.2	2.2	38.9	12.1
North Dakota.....	32.6	0.3	20.2	1.9
South Dakota.....	32.7	0.3	21.3	2.5
Nebraska.....	33.9	0.4	32.6	6.8
Kansas.....	38.0	0.6	36.2	8.7
Delaware.....	31.2	2.0	45.9	30.3
Maryland.....	20.7	2.0	54.6	20.5
Virginia.....	22.7	6.1	28.6	13.2
West Virginia.....	18.1	4.8	25.0	15.3
North Carolina.....	14.3	8.2	19.6	15.4
South Carolina.....	15.3	6.6	22.1	12.4
Georgia.....	18.0	5.5	27.5	11.2
Florida.....	13.7	3.1	32.4	20.6
Kentucky.....	25.7	7.3	22.2	7.4
Tennessee.....	26.6	7.4	23.6	10.2
Alabama.....	22.6	6.4	21.6	13.6
Mississippi.....	27.1	3.6	16.6	10.0

TABLE II—*Concluded*

STATE	PERCENTAGE OF INHABITANTS BORN IN STATE AND LIVING IN OTHER STATES	PERCENTAGE ILLITERATE, 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER	PERCENTAGE OF URBANIZATION 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER	PERCENTAGE OF MALE WAGE EARNERS IN MANUFACTURING 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER
	X ₁	X ₂	X ₃	X ₄
Arkansas.....	30.5	4.6	17.3	8.6
Louisiana.....	12.9	11.4	36.0	15.3
Oklahoma.....	23.1	2.4	28.1	4.1
Texas.....	16.2	2.2	32.7	6.3
Montana.....	32.1	0.3	31.4	7.9
Idaho.....	29.4	0.3	28.9	8.6
Wyoming.....	39.8	0.4	28.7	8.3
Colorado.....	34.5	1.7	48.6	9.1
New Mexico.....	21.8	11.9	18.8	4.6
Arizona.....	30.7	1.3	40.4	6.6
Utah.....	22.6	0.3	46.9	11.1
Nevada.....	53.9	0.4	23.6	8.4
Washington.....	23.6	0.3	54.2	23.0
Oregon.....	27.0	0.4	47.3	17.4
California.....	11.6	0.4	68.1	14.7
Mean.....	26.0	2.4	40.0	16.9

Sources:

X₁—Fourteenth Census of U. S., II, Ch. V, Table 16.X₂—Fourteenth Census of U. S., II, Ch. XII, Table 5.X₃—Fourteenth Census of U. S., II, Computed from Ch. I, Table 20, and Ch. II, Table 13.X₄—Fourteenth Census of U. S., Computed from II, Ch. III, Table 13, and VIII, Table 15.

in industry and the percentage of male wage earners employed. The latter index is utilized,⁷ because it is after all the opportunity afforded men that is the factor which it is necessary to control. The denominator is limited to males, 15 years of age and over, in order to obtain a ratio adjusted to the roughly average age at which workers begin to enter industry in large numbers, taking the country as a whole.

It is true that urbanization and industrialization are bound up in each other,

⁷ Computed from data obtained from the *Fourteenth Census of the United States*, VII, Table 15 and II, Ch. III, Table 13. Index of Industrialization = Ave. No. of Male Wage Earners Employed in Manufacturing ÷ No. of Males, 15 Years of Age and Over.

the coefficient of correlation being +.78. However, most of the states with relatively little industry have non-industrial urban areas, while not all urban areas are urban because of industry alone. It is thought necessary, therefore, to obtain the relationship between low educational status and mobility when both these factors are independent of industrialization. The resulting net coefficient of correlation is $r_{12.4} = -.50 \pm .07$.

The data which are used in obtaining the correlation coefficients presented above are contained in Table II.

The partial correlation coefficient of the second order, $r_{12.34}$, is utilized in order to obtain the net relationship of low educational status to mobility to other states.

The resultant, $r_{12.34} = -.58 \pm .06$, is significant, particularly when the complexity of the phenomena under consideration is taken into account. This result is quite consistent with the partial correlations of the first order. One may say then that, within the limits of the data, there appears to be a significant negative relationship between low educational status and mobility, when this relationship is mathematically "set free" from two important disturbing factors.

The point is not being made that there is any "causal" relationship between the two primary phenomena under consideration. One does not maintain that illiteracy, or low educational status, causes people to remain in the state of their birth. But it would appear, on the basis of the data presented, that low educational status is one of a number of factors which affect the migration of persons to other states. On the other hand, both the presence of urbanization and the presence of industrialization separately and in combination tend to deter individuals somewhat from migrating to other areas. Since science is interested in prediction as well as in the measurement of relationships, what conservative predictions are warranted?

Illiteracy in the United States is decreasing. Concomitantly with it, and represented by it, educational status is rising.

Hence it is to be expected, other conditions remaining the same, that mobility to other states will increase as persons become more capable of adjusting themselves to the constantly increasing means of communication. Mathematical prediction on the basis of the regression equation is hardly warranted due to the fact that many other factors besides those investigated are operating. It is evident, however, from the data presented that such is the trend. Mobility to other states will also be affected by increasing urbanization and particularly by increasing industrial opportunity within a given state.

The person of low educational status, in the complex and mobile society of today is bound, to a great extent, to his immediate groups and situations, and contrariwise, is handicapped in his potential responses to attracting situations in other states. The literate person, on the average, has a larger potential range of stimulation and is better equipped to adjust to new situations arising in other areas. He may take advantage of new opportunities as they occur and hence he tends to be more mobile than the individual of lower educational status. Many factors work for or against mobility to other states but in the present study the effect of low educational status, together with the contributing effects of present day urbanization and industrialization, has been statistically determined.

PROFESSOR ELLWOOD TO ORGANIZE NEW DEPARTMENT

Professor Charles A. Ellwood of the University of Missouri has accepted a call to organize and head a new Department of Sociology at Duke University, and will take up his work at that institution next September. Duke University plans to develop a fully equipped Department of Sociology as rapidly as possible. Professor Ellwood will teach this summer in the School of Education of New York University.

PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

DO DISASTERS HELP?

J. BLAINE GWIN

WHAT happens when the forces of nature are loosed and a cyclone, a fire, an earthquake, or a volcanic eruption destroys man and his works; when villages and towns are practically obliterated or cities are made desolate? newspaper reports would lead us to believe that in every instance the debris is quickly swept aside and within a brief time the cities or towns are rebuilt "bigger and better." The Red Cross has rendered aid for the victims of 938 separate disasters since 1881 and the disaster workers have seen some truly remarkable recoveries. San Francisco was rebuilt within three years following the earthquake of 1906. The Halifax fire was in 1917, and destructive as that was, within a year the town was rebuilt, the city directory added 650 new names and within another year the population had increased from 50,000 to 65,000. There was, in fact, a new prosperity in Halifax following the fire. Lorain, Ohio, had rebuilt and practically all evidence of the destruction from the tornado of 1924 had disappeared within a year. The recovery of Tokyo, Japan, following the earthquake of 1923 was truly remarkable. The almost total destruction of all property in northeast France resulting from the fighting there during the

World War was mostly repaired within five years.

The record for recovery from destructive disasters, at least insofar as the recovery relates to the restoration of buildings and other property, has been truly astonishing, especially during recent years. Yet, this was not always true and is not so true even today for the very small communities and the more backward countries. Even as recent as 175 years ago the world was so poor in capital and in technical and mechanical equipment that it took a long time to regain lost ground. The Lisbon earthquake was in 1755 and we read in a statement appearing fifty years later that the officials were pointing with pride to the rapidity with which the city had recovered although even at that time some of the main streets were still unrepaired. Germany was a century in recovering from the damages of the Thirty Years War and the physical scars are still very apparent in northern Mexico where General Villa operated. Porto Rico was generously aided through the American Red Cross and their recovery will be more substantial and far more rapid than it was following previous hurricanes, yet evidences of the 1928 hurricane will remain for many years because of limited financial and in-

dustrial resources. J. S. Mills has written that wealth suddenly destroyed is merely the rapid consumption of what has been previously produced. The destruction of material things is merely the destruction of the social surplus and under favorable modern conditions this loss can be speedily replaced.

More than material things, however, are turned upside down and perhaps obliterated by a catastrophe. There is evidence that there is apt to follow a fairly general disintegration of social institutions and the usual methods of social control. The destruction and the resultant shock may be attended by a phenomenon of social psychology which may either retard or promote social development and control. The people "live on edge" for a period and there often follows unexplained breakdowns. Large committees are effective and psychologists explain this by saying there is a "preference for plural leadership" and "the establishment of a species of collective behavior," due to the effects of shock and loss.

It is a marvelous experience to step into the atmosphere created by a disaster situation. The spirit of self-sacrifice and practically self-forgetfulness prevails to a remarkable degree. Many entirely forget their own losses while helping others. People with severe injuries have frequently been found working with the rescue squads totally oblivious of their own injuries. Everyone seems to be objective-minded during this emergency period. The period of self-forgetfulness sometimes lasts to some degree for from two to three weeks, and afterwards there is a reaction which follows the emergency period of disaster work of lassitude and depression. During this period, the communities are apt to become very suspicious and critical of the leaders and relief workers, especially if they come from other places—if they

are "outsiders." It has been noted that the community leadership changes following catastrophes although the change may not be permanent. Younger people come to the front and if the previous leadership has been conservative it is apt to be shouldered aside. This was especially true during the flood work along the Mississippi in 1927. There have been small communities badly damaged by hurricanes or repeated floods where the leaders became discouraged and no new ones came forward to instill new life or new ideas into the community affairs and some of these places have disintegrated and almost disappeared. This has been true of several places in the Mississippi Basin. Columbus, Kentucky, was rapidly losing all resemblance to a town after several floods had partially covered it. In 1927, the town was moved by the American Red Cross to a nearby bluff and has begun once more to prosper.

The most usual indications of a social awakening following a disaster are found from a study of legislative enactments which are of social value and in the interest of greater safety. In A.D. 27, during the Consulship of Marcus Licinius and Lucius Calpurnis there was a collapse of a huge gladiatorial amphitheatre in Rome and from 30,000 to 50,000 people were killed. History shows that the Roman Senate thereafter decreed "that no man under the qualifications of 40,000 sesterces should exhibit the spectacle of gladiators and that the amphitheatre should be founded upon grounds of proven solidity." Health officials in England claim that the vast machinery of their health department was developed as a result of the cholera visitations in the middle of the last century and there is reason for believing that public health work in America had its beginnings as a result of yellow fever epidemics.

Galveston, Texas, built a sea wall three miles long and at the same time raised the level of the city as a protection following the tidal wave of 1900. Miami, Fort Myers, West Palm Beach, Palm Beach, and Miami Beach have adopted revised building codes following the hurricanes in Florida of 1926 and 1928. A dozen other cities in Florida are now working on new building codes which are designed to reduce structural damages from storms. Building codes were revised in Santa Barbara following the earthquake of 1925. Very soon after the fire in Halifax, Canada enacted a regulation affecting the handling and storage of explosives which was made applicable to all public harbors in Canada. Pueblo, Colorado, changed the course of the river following the destructive flood of 1921. The Seamen's Bill was enacted as a direct result of the Titanic disaster. A lookout station was established on the hills behind Berkeley and Oakland, California, following the Berkeley fire of 1923. City, county and state officials have been testing and examining all dams in the State of California following the St. Francis Dam collapse and a legislative act passed in 1929 provides for the supervision of all dams in California by the Department of Public works.

Levees have been built or raised following floods in various parts of the country. After the most extensive and destructive flood in America—the Mississippi Flood in 1927—Congress enacted the most comprehensive flood control bill of all time. This bill is designed through spillways to protect the Mississippi Basin. Many other instances could be cited of efforts made in this country following catastrophes to prevent a recurrence and to minimize the effects.

The records of such actions can be secured and read by any one interested, but the effects of the shock on the people

affected and the effect on the social institutions and activities of the communities are not so apparent nor is the information so accessible. Have destructive conflicts and individual and group antagonisms been wiped out to be replaced by a friendlier spirit and better team work? Have social and luncheon clubs become socialized to any extent and has there been any change in community leadership following catastrophe? These are questions to which no categorical answer can be given, partly because evidence of such changes are not easily found or interpreted and no extended study has ever been made to determine if such changes have taken place. Such evidence can be found only by searching far beneath the surface of community life. We do, however, have some evidence of such effects through the changes which have followed catastrophes in health and social institutions.

There are some instances of changes in established customs and habits but these changes are largely attributable to the constructive planning of the relief workers rather than to the direct effects of the disaster. The most recent example of this is found in the Mississippi Basin following the 1927 flood. In the states of Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas the workers found that it had been customary to plant cotton everywhere, even right up to the door-steps of the homes, and vegetables were practically unknown to many of the inhabitants of this region. Vegetable seeds were distributed along with instructions for their use by the relief and health workers. At the same time, an attempt was made to help the people affected by the flood rehabilitate themselves by a generous distribution of corn and alfalfa seed and soy beans as a substitute for cotton so as to secure a greater diversity of crops. While no data are yet available which give any statistical informa-

tion in regard to changes in the "crop habits" of the people of this section, the United States Department of Agriculture already has received sufficient information from the county agents in these states to justify most optimistic conclusions. Cotton has apparently been pushed back from the door-steps and vegetables are being grown and used where they were unknown before the flood. Corn and alfalfa have found a place on many a plantation and on the smaller farms.

Are new social institutions developed and are established ones modernized to meet new needs or newly recognized needs following disasters? Calamity develops leadership beyond a doubt. Great deeds have had their origin in the stings of adversity. Some communities have found themselves, have developed common ideals and purposes in the midst of desolation and there are others, especially in earlier times and in undeveloped countries, that have succumbed to the discouragements of calamities.

Eighty-six counties in the states in the Mississippi Basin established county health units following the flood of 1927. Each unit consisted of a full time health official, a Public Health nurse, a secretary, and in many instances, a sanitary officer. The plans for this development were worked out jointly by the state health officers of the states affected and by representatives from the Red Cross and the Rockefeller Foundation. The units were financed by appropriations from the flood states, the counties, and the Rockefeller Foundation. They were made possible, however, by the new interest in health work in the flood states and recent reports indicate most of these units will continue to function entirely from local support

when the demonstration period has been completed.

There have been six nutritionists employed by local Red Cross chapters in the flooded sections of Alabama since the rivers overflowed there early in 1929. A full time health officer was employed at West Palm Beach, Florida, following the hurricane of 1928, and the demand for more effective health work was a direct result of new interest following the storm. The most frequent indication of an awakened interest in health work following calamities is found in the tendency of the communities affected to develop Public Health nursing. Dozens of communities have taken such action according to records at National Headquarters of the Red Cross.

Another outstanding type of development following disasters and as a direct and natural outgrowth of disaster case work has been the organization of local relief on a modern family case work basis. This was true in Greenville and Vicksburg, Mississippi, and in several other places in the Mississippi Basin; also at Pueblo, Colorado; Lorain, Ohio; Arkansas City, Kansas; in Martin and St. Lucie Counties, Florida, and others.

The suggestion has often been made that disaster-stricken communities might be pauperized as one result of the aid given by a generous and sympathetic country. However, there seems to be little or no evidence to support such a belief. It is probable that the stimulation which comes from the shock and sense of loss is sufficient to overcome any pauperizing or demoralizing effects which might otherwise follow from the distribution of a large relief fund. The use of modern case work methods in disaster relief work is also an important factor.

HOME CONDITIONS OF INSTITUTIONAL DELINQUENT BOYS
IN WISCONSIN

MORRIS GILMORE CALDWELL

INTRODUCTION

NO PARTICULARISTIC explanation is adequate for the exposition of the phenomenon of juvenile delinquency. The causes are to be sought in an analysis of the innumerable factors which play upon the individual from inception of the embryo through the latest influence of the social environment.

that it is the result of the interaction of many complicated factors.

The purpose of this study is to measure statistically certain conditions existing in the home, which are causative factors in juvenile delinquency. Such factors as the broken home, socially defective tendencies, the institutional record of the family, and contact with social agencies will be ana-

TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION OF BOY DELINQUENTS AND GIRL DELINQUENTS *WISCONSIN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL ACCORDING TO COMMITMENT FROM BROKEN AND UNBROKEN HOMES

BROKEN AND UNBROKEN HOMES	BOY DELINQUENTS		GIRL DELINQUENTS†	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total.....	492	100.0	252	100.0
Unbroken.....	308	62.6	92	36.5
Broken.....	184	37.4	160	63.5
Death.....	131	26.6	101	40.0
Divorce.....	23	4.7	29	11.5
Desertion.....	13	2.7	10	4.0
Separation.....	12	2.4	12	4.8
Parent in Institution.....	5	1.0	8	3.2

* Lumpkin, *op. cit.* This is a research of 252 Wisconsin girl delinquents, being a companion study to the present one on delinquent boys. Frequent comparisons are made throughout this article to discover the fundamental likenesses and differences between boy and girl delinquency.

† Ibid., p. 103.

The fallacy of attributing juvenile delinquency to heredity alone, physical or mental defect in itself, racial characteristics or home conditions such as overcrowding, economic stress, inadequate discipline and supervision, disharmony in the home, the broken home and socially defective tendencies is obvious and is borne out by a detailed study of the boy's relation to each of these various influences. The study of juvenile delinquency shows

lyzed to ascertain their relative importance. Finally, one hundred homes of delinquent boys in this study will be rated according to the Young-Lumpkin¹ Parental Conditions Rating Scale to secure a general estimate of home conditions.

¹ Katharine D. Lumpkin. *Social Situations and Girl Delinquency: A Study of the Commitments to the Wisconsin Industrial School for Girls, July 1, 1925 to December 31, 1927*, Doctor's Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1928, pp. 31-33.

THE BROKEN HOME

The broken home for the purposes of this study may be defined in the usual manner as one broken by death, separation and divorce of parents, etc.

In the present study, as shown in Table I, 62.6 per cent of the boy delinquents come from unbroken homes and 37.4 per cent from broken homes. Lumpkin finds 63.5

register approximately 50 per cent broken homes. It is obvious then that the boy delinquent broken home situation is about 12 per cent worse than the general population estimates and approximately 12 or 13 per cent better than the Healy and Bronner studies.

Table II shows the persons with whom the delinquent boy is living at time of

TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION OF BOY DELINQUENTS AND GIRL DELINQUENTS WISCONSIN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL ACCORDING TO PERSONS WITH WHOM LIVING AT TIME OF COMMITMENT

PERSONS WITH WHOM LIVING	BOY DELINQUENTS		GIRL DELINQUENTS*	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total.....	492	100.0	252	100.0
Parents.....	397	80.7	176	69.8
Both.....	308	62.6	92	36.5
Only one.....	89	18.1	84	33.3
Step-parents.....	70	14.3	53	21.1
Step-father.....	50	10.2		
Step-mother.....	19	3.9		
Step-father and step-mother.....	1	0.2		
Foster Parents.....	3	0.6	5	2.0
Broken home.....	2	0.4	2	0.8
Unbroken home.....	1	0.2	3	1.2
Relatives.....	8	1.6	17	6.7
Homes for Dependent Children.....	14	2.8	1	0.4

* Lumpkin, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

per cent broken and 36.5 per cent unbroken homes in a study of Wisconsin girl delinquents. There are over 25 per cent more broken homes among girl delinquents than among the boy delinquents. The percentage of broken homes according to the general population estimates is approximately 25 and 37 per cent for this study, a difference of 12 per cent. The Healy and Bronner² and Shideler³ studies

commitment. It also is a comparison with the Lumpkin study on this matter. Eighty and seven-tenths per cent of the boys in the sample are living with either one or both parents, whereas 69.8 per cent of the girls in the Lumpkin study have such a relationship and only 58.7 per cent of juvenile delinquents in the United States as a whole.⁴ The percentage of

Delinquent Boy in the United States," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* (1918), pp. 714-715.

⁴ See U. S. Census, *Children Under Institutional Care* (1923), Table 61, p. 322.

² Healy and Bronner. *Delinquents and Criminals: Their Making and Unmaking* (1926), p. 263.

³ E. H. Shideler. "Family Disintegration and the

boys living with parents before commitment is considerably larger in the industrial boy group than either the Lumpkin or Census studies. The percentage of boys living with step-parents is nearly the same for all three studies, with the exception

mindfulness, insanity, and venereal disease. The data on these tendencies are analyzed not only for the immediate members of the family but relatives as well and for broken and unbroken homes of the sample on which data were available.

TABLE III

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES OF DELINQUENT BOYS AND DELINQUENT GIRLS WISCONSIN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL CLASSIFIED AS TO THE NUMBER OF CASES WHICH SHOW SOCIALLY DEFECTIVE TENDENCIES

CASES SHOWING SOCIALLY DEFECTIVE TENDENCIES OR NOT	DELINQUENT BOYS		DELINQUENT GIRLS*	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total	101	100.0	252	100.0
Cases Showing Socially Defective Tendencies	88	87.1	189	75.0
Cases Showing No Socially Defective Tendencies	13	12.9	63	25.0

* Lumpkin, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

TABLE IV

DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIALLY DEFECTIVE TENDENCIES IN 88 FAMILIES OF DELINQUENT BOYS WISCONSIN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO BROKEN AND UNBROKEN HOMES

SOCIALLY DEFECTIVE TENDENCIES	TOTAL	BROKEN			UNBROKEN		
		Total	Father, mother, sibs	Relatives	Total	Father, mother, sibs	Relatives
Total	253	162	152	10	91	81	10
Alcoholic	67	41	40	1	26	26	
Epileptic	1	1	1				
Feeble-minded	18	10	10		8	8	
Insane	14	8	5	3	6	1	5
Sexually Irregular	35	26	26		9	9	
Suicide	5	4	4		1		1
Tubercular	5	5	4	1			
Heart	6	5	3	2	1	1	
Venereal Disease	1	1	1				
Court, Penal, Correctional Institution	79	45	43	2	34	31	3
Unclassified	22	16	15	1	6	5	1

of the Lumpkin study which is approximately larger.

SOCIALLY DEFECTIVE TENDENCIES

By the term "socially defective tendencies" is meant all those aspects of the social environment which are seemingly pathological in nature, such as feeble-

Tables III to V inclusive treat of socially defective tendencies in the families of the delinquent boy group and of comparisons with the Lumpkin study. Out of 101 cases, 87.1 per cent show socially defective tendencies in the selected sample and out of the 252 cases in the delinquent girl group 75 per cent show such tendencies.

The percentage of socially defective tendencies is 12 per cent higher among the families of the boys than the girls.

Tables IV and V show the distribution of these tendencies in 101 cases for broken and unbroken homes. Broken homes

fective tendencies. It is obvious that the existence of these tendencies in the home must have a demoralizing influence on the delinquent boy in the making.

Table V also shows a percentage comparison of boy and girl delinquents on

TABLE V

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIALLY DEFECTIVE TENDENCIES IN FAMILIES OF BOY DELINQUENTS AND GIRL DELINQUENTS WISCONSIN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO BROKEN AND UNBROKEN HOMES

SOCIALLY DEFECTIVE TENDENCIES	BOY DELINQUENTS*			GIRL DELINQUENTS†		
	Total	Broken	Unbroken	Total	Broken	Unbroken
Total	100.0	64.1	35.9	100.0	69.5	30.5
Alcoholic.....	25.5	16.2	10.3	16.5	11.4	5.1
Epileptic.....	0.4	0.4		1.6	1.2	0.4
Feeble-minded.....	7.1	4.0	3.1	8.5	5.8	2.7
Insane.....	5.5	3.1	2.4	6.8	4.3	2.5
Sexually Irregular.....	13.8	10.3	3.5	11.4	8.9	2.5
Suicide.....	2.0	1.6	0.4	0.6	0.6	
Tubercular.....	2.0	2.0		7.2	4.9	2.3
Heart.....	2.4	2.0	0.4	7.0	3.9	3.1
Venereal Disease.....	0.4	0.4		3.2	2.2	1.0
Cancer.....				1.7	0.7	1.0
Court, Penal, Correctional Institution.....	31.2	17.8	13.4	28.6	21.4	7.2
Unclassified.....	8.7	6.3	2.4	6.9	4.2	2.7

* Percentage distribution of totals in Table IV.

† Lumpkin, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

TABLE VI

DISTRIBUTION OF BOY DELINQUENTS AND GIRL DELINQUENTS WISCONSIN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL ACCORDING TO WHETHER OR NOT THE FAMILY SHOWS INSTITUTIONAL RECORD

INSTITUTIONAL RECORD	BOY DELINQUENTS		GIRL DELINQUENTS*	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total	492	100.0	252	100.0
Cases Showing Institutional Record.....	194	39.4	115	45.6
Cases not Showing Institutional Record.....	298	60.6	137	54.4

* Lumpkin, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

show 64.1 per cent and unbroken homes 35.9 per cent of socially defective tendencies. This means that the broken homes have approximately two chances to one for the unbroken of having socially de-

socially defective tendencies. The two groups have about the same percentage distributions on the individual items and also totals for both broken and unbroken homes. The two studies show that ap-

proximately two thirds of these tendencies appear in broken homes.

INSTITUTIONAL RECORD OF THE FAMILY

Tables VI and VII deal with the institutional record of the family of the delinquent boy. Approximately 40 per cent of the cases show institutional record and

the families of girl delinquents, and about 20 per cent more are committed to industrial schools in the families of boys than in the families of girls. A large percentage of other members of the family are committed to orphanages and homes for dependent children in the families of girl delinquents. Only small percentages ap-

TABLE VII

DISTRIBUTION OF BOY DELINQUENTS AND GIRL DELINQUENTS WISCONSIN* INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL ACCORDING TO INSTITUTIONS TO WHICH OTHER MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY HAVE BEEN COMMITTED

TYPE OF INSTITUTION	BOY DELINQUENTS		GIRL DELINQUENTS†	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total.....	224	100.0	232	100.0
Jails and Houses of Correction.....	101	45.1	64	27.6
Reformatory.....	7	3.1	10	4.3
Industrial schools and other institutions for juvenile delinquents.....	76	33.9	31	13.3
Prison.....	4	1.8	18	7.8
Hospitals for Insane.....	9	4.0	28	12.1
Epileptic and feeble minded institutions.....	5	2.3	8	3.5
Orphanages, homes for dependent children.....	22	9.8	65	28.0
Other.....			8	3.4

* This information is available on 224 cases in present study and 232 cases in Lumpkin study.

† Lumpkin, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

60 per cent do not. Lumpkin finds that over 45 per cent of her cases show institutional record for the family, while nearly 55 per cent do not. The two studies are in close agreement on this matter.

Table VII shows to what institutions the other members of the delinquent boy's family were committed. The table discloses that 45 per cent were sent to jails and houses of correction and that nearly 34 per cent to industrial schools and homes for delinquents.

Some differences may be pointed out between this study and Lumpkin's findings. Approximately 18 per cent more of the other members of the family are committed to jails and houses of correction in the families of boy delinquents than in

pear for the boy's families from these two types of institutions.

CONTACTS OF THE FAMILY WITH SOCIAL AGENCIES

The families in the boy delinquent group have had long and varied contacts with every conceivable type of social agency. Table VIII shows these contacts by number of agencies for Milwaukee and other counties. Out of 189 cases, 27.1 per cent had contact with only one agency and 12.3 per cent had contact with two agencies. The families of the boy delinquent group have had contact with many more agencies in Milwaukee County than in other counties due to the advanced state of social work there.

Of 263 cases in a selected sample 189, or 71.8 per cent, had contact with social agencies, and 74, or 28.2 per cent, had no contact. Table IX shows the contacts of

per cent of the contacts according to type of agency. This table is also a comparison with Lumpkin on type of social agency. The families of girl delinquents show more

TABLE VIII

FAMILIES OF DELINQUENT BOYS WISCONSIN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO CONTACT WITH NUMBER OF SOCIAL AGENCIES

NUMBER OF AGENCIES	COUNTIES					
	Total		Milwaukee		Other	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total	189	100.0	145	77.1	44	22.9
1	50	27.1	17	9.1	33	17.3
2	23	12.3	16	8.4	7	3.7
3	16	8.4	13	6.9	3	1.5
4	11	5.8	10	5.3	1	0.4
5	17	9.1	17	9.1		
6	9	4.8	9	4.8		
7	12	6.5	12	6.5		
8	13	6.9	13	6.9		
9	6	3.2	6	3.2		
10 and over	32	16.9	32	16.9		

TABLE IX

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF DELINQUENT BOYS AND DELINQUENT GIRLS WISCONSIN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO TYPE OF SOCIAL AGENCY

TYPE OF AGENCY	BOY DELINQUENTS		GIRL DELINQUENTS*	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total	492	100.0	595	100.0
Family and Child Welfare.....	126	25.6	187	31.4
Health.....	134	27.2	136	22.9
Orphanages and Homes for Dependents.....	33	6.7	45	7.6
Public Outdoor Relief.....	68	14.0	41	6.9
State Aid.....			20	3.4
Religious Missions.....	57	11.6	14	2.3
Miscellaneous.....	74	14.9	36	6.0
Boarding Homes.....			16	2.7

* Lumpkin, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

the families of boy delinquents with social agencies by type of social agency. Family and child welfare organizations and health agencies loom large with over 50

contacts with family and child welfare and health agencies than do the families of boy delinquents. The facts show that families of both boy and girl delinquents

have approximately the same percentages of institutional records: 40 per cent for families of boy delinquents and 45 per cent for families of girl delinquents. But there is a marked difference in the form in which these institutional records appear in the families of boy and girl delinquents. The institutions to which other members of the family of boy delinquents were committed have a tendency to be of a correctional nature, while those to which the other members of girl delinquents were sent have a tendency to be of the voluntary social agency type. The commit-

School has formulated a scale for grading homes, but it is open to criticism in view of the fact that it confuses the material with the spiritual traits of the home.

The Young-Lumpkin Parental Conditions Rating Scale,⁵ is one of the best scales yet devised for the rating of home conditions. It is used in this study to evaluate the homes of 100 delinquent boys selected on the basis of adequate information.

Table X classifies the results of the rating according to whether the 100 homes rated "poor," "below minimum," "mini-

TABLE X
DISTRIBUTION OF THE HOMES OF ONE HUNDRED BOY DELINQUENTS WISCONSIN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL ACCORDING TO THE PARENTAL CONDITIONS RATING SCALE

PARENTAL CONDITIONS	RATING SCALE				
	Poor	Below Minimum	Minimum	Above Minimum	Good
Total Estimate.....	19	39	25	14	3
Broken Homes.....	24	23	17	7	29
Supervision.....	32	23	25	15	5
Harmony.....	32	23	21	13	11
Discipline.....	35	30	22	10	3
Socially Defective Tendencies.....	29	32	21	13	5

ments of other members of the family in the boy and girl delinquent groups register the following percentages: industrial schools 34 and 13 per cent; jails and houses of correction 45 and 27 per cent; family and child welfare organizations 25 and 31 per cent; and health societies 27 and 40 per cent respectively.

RATING PARENTAL CONDITIONS

Scientific measurement of social data by objective standards or scales is still in its infancy. Nevertheless, worthwhile attempts have been made in some fields. The rating of home conditions is a case in point. The California Whittier State

num," "above minimum," and "good;" this table shows the results for each separate part of the scale and for the total estimate.

Table XI shows the total estimate for the 100 cases in detail and also a comparison with Lumpkin on the total estimate of parental conditions. In the present study of 100 homes, 19 per cent rated poor, 39 per cent below minimum, 25 per cent minimum, 14 per cent above minimum, and only 3 per cent good. In the Lumpkin study 12 per cent rated poor, 64 per cent below minimum, 16 per cent mini-

⁵ Lumpkin, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-33.

imum, 8 per cent above minimum, and none rated good. On the whole the homes of delinquent boys have a higher rating than

minimum or below. The girls have 9 per cent more poor homes than the boys.

The conclusions arrived at are chiefly statistical:

1. The broken home situation for the boy delinquent group is about 12 per cent worse than the general population estimates and approximately 12 per cent better than studies made by Healy and Bronner and Shideler.

2. 87 per cent of the cases show socially defective tendencies for the boy delinquent group as compared to 75 per cent for the Lumpkin girl delinquents. In both studies two-thirds of these tendencies appear in broken homes.

3. In 40 per cent of the cases the boy's family shows previous institutional record, 79 per cent of which is in jails and houses of correction.

4. 71.8 per cent of the cases in a selected sample had contact with social agencies and 28.2 per cent had no contact. Family and child welfare organizations and health agencies loom large with over 50 per cent of the contacts according to type of social agency.

5. The institutions to which other members of the family of boy delinquents were committed have a tendency to be of a correctional nature, while those to which other members of the family of girl delinquents were sent have a tendency to be of the voluntary social agency type.

The foregoing analysis portrays rather vividly the home situations from which delinquent boys in Wisconsin come. The home environment appears to be decidedly defective as shown by the prevalence of the broken home, socially defective tendencies, institutional records, and contact with social agencies. These elements combine to make defective home conditions a major factor in the causation of juvenile delinquency in Wisconsin.

TABLE XI

DISTRIBUTION OF THE HOMES OF ONE HUNDRED BOY DELINQUENTS AND SIXTY-SIX GIRL DELINQUENTS WISCONSIN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL ACCORDING TO THE TOTAL ESTIMATE ON THE PARENTAL CONDITIONS RATING SCALE

RATINGS	BOY DELINQUENTS		GIRL DELINQUENTS*	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total, . . .	100	100.0	66	100.0
5	3	3.0	1	1.5
6	10	10.0	2	3.0
7	6	6.0	5	7.6
8	8	8.0	7	10.7
9	7	7.0	7	10.7
10	9	9.0	10	15.2
11	10	10.0	14	21.2
12	5	5.0	4	6.0
13	3	3.0	3	5.0
14	5	5.0	2	3.0
15	2	2.0	5	7.6
16	5	5.0		
17	10	10.0	1	1.5
18	3	3.0	1	1.5
19	6	6.0	3	5.0
20	5	5.0	1	1.5
21				
22				
23	2	2.0		
24	1	1.0		
25				

Poor.....	5
Below Minimum.....	10
Minimum.....	15
Above Minimum.....	20
Good.....	25

Ratings from 5 to 7 are Poor, from 8 to 12, Below Minimum, from 13 to 17, Minimum, from 18 to 22, Above Minimum, and 23 to 25, Good.

* Lumpkin, *op. cit.*, p. 143 (b).

those of the girl delinquents: 83 per cent of the homes of the boys and 92 per cent of the homes of the girls have a rating of

NOTES ON STERILIZATION AND SOCIAL CONTROL

BENJAMIN MALZBERG

IN 1924 the Virginia legislature passed a law permitting the sterilization of mental defectives under careful safeguard. The law singled out inmates in institutions supported by the state, who are afflicted with an hereditary form of insanity or imbecility. Under this law the Superintendent of the state Colony of Epileptics and Feeble-minded petitioned his Board of Directors to cause the operation to be performed upon one Carrie Buck. The case reached the Supreme Court of Appeals of the State of Virginia, which affirmed the order of the Board. The statute had been attacked on the usual ground that it failed to apply to persons similarly stigmatized but living outside the institution, and that it thereby violated the Equal Protection clause of the Constitution. The case was finally carried to the United States Supreme Court. The decision of the Court, from which only Justice Butler dissented, was written by Justice Holmes. The Virginia law was upheld in vigorous language which merits full quotation:

... the law does all that is needed when it does all that it can, indicates a policy, applies it to all within the lines and seeks to bring within the lines all similarly situated so far and so fast as its means allow. Of course so far as the operations enable those who otherwise must be kept confined to be returned to the world and thus open the asylum to others, the equality aimed at will be more nearly reached."

Justice Holmes also gave approval to the fundamental purpose of sterilization:

We have seen more than once that the public welfare may call upon the best citizens for their lives. It would be strange if it could not call upon those who already sap the strength of the state for these lesser sacrifices, often not felt to be such by those concerned, in order to prevent our being swamped with incom-

petence. It is better for all the world, if instead of waiting to execute degenerate offspring for crime, or to let them starve for their imbecility, society can prevent those who are manifestly unfit from continuing their kind. The principle that sustains compulsory vaccination is broad enough to cover cutting the Fallopian tubes. . . . Three generations of imbeciles are enough.

There was little doubt that sterilization bills would reappear in many legislatures as a result of the encouragement lent by the important decision of the United States Supreme Court. Arizona, North Carolina, and West Virginia enacted such legislation. The Constitutionality of the Kansas sterilization law was upheld by the State Supreme Court. Delaware and Nebraska broadened their laws to include certain classes of criminals. In Louisiana a sterilization bill was defeated by but one vote in 1928. In the state of Washington a sterilization law was passed in 1929, but was vetoed by the Governor. Bills were also introduced in the legislatures of Illinois, Kentucky, Missouri, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma and Texas, but failed of passage. For the first time a sterilization law was enacted in a foreign country. The Canton of Vaud in Switzerland now has a sterilization law, passed in September 1928. Similar legislation was defeated in New Zealand, however.

New York had passed a sterilization law in 1912, which, after being declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, and again by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, had been repealed by the legislature before the Court of Appeals could render a final opinion. The bill introduced in the 1929 session was carefully drawn so as to avoid the earlier difficulties, and is a good example of current attempts at sterilization laws. It fol-

lowed very closely the wording of the Virginia Statute. It provided that whenever the superintendent of an institution having jurisdiction of insane, idiotic, imbecilic, epileptic and feeble-minded inmates, shall feel that it is best for the patient and society that any inmate of the institution be sexually sterilized because of hereditary forms of insanity, idiocy, imbecility, feeble-mindedness or epilepsy, he shall present a petition to a special board named by the department of mental hygiene, composed of one institutional medical superintendent other than the deponent, a medical representative of the department of mental hygiene and a representative of the medical profession who is not a state employee, to be selected by the other members of the board. The petition shall set forth the reasons why the operation of vasectomy or salpingectomy should be performed. A copy of the petition must be served upon the inmate with notice of time and place of hearing, no less than 30 days before the hearing. A copy must also be served upon the legal guardians or committee of such inmate. If none such exist or is known, the superintendent shall apply to the Supreme Court or County Court in the county where the inmate is confined, which shall appoint a suitable person as guardian for the purpose of the hearing. He is to be served with copies of the petition and the notice. He may be removed and a new guardian appointed by the same court. If the inmate is an infant with living parents the latter may also be served with copies. The court may order the petition or notice served on any other person.

The Board may then hold hearings to determine the facts. The evidence shall consist of the commitment papers and other records of the inmate in institutions as certified by the superintendents thereof.

Any other legal evidence may be submitted. The Board may administer oaths, take depositions, keep written records of all evidence. The Board may deny or affirm the petition.

If such Board shall find that such inmate is insane, idiotic, imbecilic, feeble-minded, or epileptic, and by the laws of heredity is the probable potential parent of socially inadequate offspring likewise afflicted, that such inmate may be sexually sterilized without detriment to his or her general health and that the welfare of such inmate and of society will be promoted by such sterilization, it shall order such superintendent to perform or cause to have performed by some competent physician, to be named in such order upon such inmate, after not less than thirty days from the date of such order, the operation of vasectomy if a male, and of salpingectomy if a female, but nothing in this act shall be construed to authorize the operation of castration, or the removal of sound organs from the body.

Within thirty days after service of a copy of such order upon an inmate, an appeal may be made to the Supreme Court in the judicial district including the institution. The court may affirm, modify or reverse such order. A further appeal may again be made as with the other cases in the same court.

Comparing this bill with earlier ones, especially the 1912 New York Statute, one finds marked improvement in the value of the underlying biological assumptions. In the first place, the law does not assume that heredity is the sole nor even the principal cause of insanity, epilepsy and feeble-mindedness. It merely sets forth that in those cases where heredity may be the probable cause, and where the chance of undesirable progeny is therefore increased, the operation of sterilization may be performed. It thus safeguards the physical integrity of individuals, whose condition may be the result of purely environmental factors. It is, of course conceivable that individuals with defects of environmental origin may

also prove to be highly undesirable parents. On the assumption however that their germ plasm has not been injured and that the defects are therefore somatic, it will be necessary to seek a remedy of a different order from that of sterilization. In the next place, the classification makes no reference to alcoholism, pauperism, or criminality. Most sterilization laws have included these categories, on the assumption that they are capable of transmission through physical inheritance. It is true that there is some evidence indicating a casual relation between inherited mental factors and some types of alcoholism and pauperism. But it is equally true that most of these latter defects can be explained only as social phenomena. When however paupers or alcoholics are also mentally defective they should, if necessary, be classified with mental defectives, and, as such, made subject to sterilization laws. It is therefore unnecessary to make any further assumptions as to causation in these cases. Similarly with respect to crime, it is possible to argue that aberrations of certain instincts, i.e., sexual, cause particular types of crimes. But the offenses of larceny and burglary, which account for the greater proportion of crime, cannot be explained as the result of mental defects alone. They appear to be almost entirely social phenomena with few, if any biological roots. Consequently it is the height of folly to sterilize such individuals or to make them subject to the provisions of a sterilization law. By removing such debatable categories from the provision of law, the New York bill therefore marked a great advance in eugenic legislation.

There is still an effort to impute therapeutic value to the operation. The New York bill and the Virginia law both speak of the welfare of the inmate being promoted by sterilization. Such an improve-

ment is usually thought of in connection with the functional psychoses. Yet an investigation conducted in the New York State Hospitals in 1925 showed that in almost 90 per cent of the cases, there was no mental improvement after the operation, and in almost 90 per cent there was no physical improvement. In the remaining cases the investigation reported mental and physical improvement to be so slight as to be negligible.

Sterilization therefore must be applied only for the purpose of safe-guarding the physical and mental characters of the race. As a corollary, it follows that sterilization should be limited in its application to those physical and mental defects which may reasonably be supposed to result from defective germ-plasm. Furthermore, social defect should not be confused with mental defect.

Assuming then that in practice sterilization will be applied only to the proper type of case, we must still consider whether it is a sufficient measure of social control in itself. We have already seen that the fact that the law applies only to those in state institutions can no longer be considered a defect in view of the strong language of the United States Supreme Court. It is true, therefore, that there must be individuals outside institutions who in other respects are entirely similar to the defective within institutions. Both the Virginia and United States Courts held that sterilization would remedy this condition by making it possible to discharge inmates who had been sterilized and thus provide further institutional accommodations for other defectives. In theory, therefore, there would be a constant flow of defectives to the institutions and back to the community, those returning having been rendered innocuous as progenitors of physical and mental defect. Nevertheless, there is a

real danger involved in such a program. For as is well known, sterilization does not mean loss of sexual capacity; it merely renders parenthood impossible. There is consequently no guarantee that a sterilized defective, especially a female, will not become a source of infection after discharge from the institution. The danger of such a contingency was stressed by such well known experts as Dr. Charles Bernstein of Rome and the late Dr. Walter Fernald of Waverly in the course of the trial of one Frank Osborne, testing the original New York sterilization law. Both felt that the indiscriminate discharge of sterilized patients, either to make room for other defectives or in the belief that they had been rendered harmless is a dangerous social policy.

Among the most difficult problems in public health is the control of the venereal

diseases. In their devastating effects upon progeny they are truly social diseases. What would it avail us, therefore, if we rendered a defective incapable of parenthood but at the same time permitted him, or even—under the delusion of safety—encouraged him to indulge in promiscuous sex activity, and to spread diseases which through others would continue a stream of defectives. This is not a hypothetical danger; it is very close to reality. Sterilization therefore instead of reducing the extent of the problem of institutionalization, only makes it the more necessary to work out a proper program of the relation of the institution to the defective both within and without its walls. In the possible haste for eugenic legislation in the future let us not therefore overlook the equally stressing need for a satisfactory program of institutionalization.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA SCHOOL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Beginning July 1, 1930, the University of California will inaugurate a program of teaching and research in public administration. A gift from the Rockefeller Foundation of \$182,000 over a six-year period, supplementing existing funds and active coöperation by various state government agencies, has made possible this important undertaking. The new project has been planned and sponsored by a committee headed by Dr. S. C. May, associate professor of political science. Professor May, under whose direction the work will be carried on, has outlined its purpose as follows:

"It is proposed to develop and expand the facilities at the University of California so that there may be applied to the important problems of government administration the organized intellectual resources of the University, co-ordinated into carefully considered programs of library development, investigation, research, publication, and instruction, in order to understand and make known to students, officials and the public the underlying principles and practices of government administration which seem to accomplish the most efficient and desirable results; and best to prepare future government officials for effective public service.

"In addition to the graduate work, the plans include important co-operative arrangements with, and financial assistance by, governmental agencies, announcements concerning which will be made in the near future. Special funds have been set aside for research in city planning, the relationship between federal, state, and local government, personnel problems, legislative drafting, the ad-

ministration of criminal justice, and the annual publication of critical annotated guides to the literature of state and federal administration. The training program will involve the co-ordination of approximately 100 existing courses in various departments of the University dealing with the specific phases of public administration, the introduction of courses on subjects not at present adequately covered, and the field work in government service.

"In aiding this project, the Rockefeller Foundation was undoubtedly influenced by the unusual facilities in this field which have been developed by the University of California, including the pamphlet collection of the Bureau of Public Administration, which is recognized as the most comprehensive library of its kind in the United States. Other factors which should contribute toward the success of the undertaking are a larger number of graduate students in this field than at any other American university, and the co-operative attitude of state and local officials."

THE COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD

This department is conducted by THE NATIONAL COMMUNITY CENTER ASSOCIATION, and is edited by LeRoy E. Bowman, 403 Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York City.

THE MIGRATIONS TO TOWNS AND CITIES, NUMBER 6

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN AND JOHN JAY CORSON, 3RD

IN THE last study in this series, probably for the first time in the literature of migrations, definite suggestions and statistical proof were given that factors associated with the order of birth in a rural family played a causal rôle in urban selection by migrations.¹ The essence of this theory is that the older child, or the oldest male child, tends to stay in agriculture in a greater percentage of the cases than all children of the farm families. This indicates that some of the factors within rural family organization, which differentiate the children in their responsibility to family traditions and family succession, tend to subjugate this older child or oldest male child to agricultural succession more than the others. Since the preparation of that earlier study, data from two samples of Virginia farm popu-

lation have been secured.² These two samples furnish the basis for a random test of the theory of order of birth as a factor in urban selection and of some of the other theories developed in earlier studies in this series. This present study introduces these new data and discusses the significance of the findings.

In the earlier study, where this theory was first suggested, it was found, based upon 1,415 male farm-born adults all of whom were 25 or more years of age (and presumably past the age of greatest intermigrations between agriculture and urban occupations), that 81.2 per cent of all first-born male children of families still in agriculture were located upon farms as compared with 76.5 per cent of all children of these families. It was found, further, that of the 250 families located in the cities (Fargo, North Dakota and Mankato, Minnesota), where the family originated in agriculture, 50.4 per cent of the

¹ See "Migrations to towns and cities," No. 5, *American Journal of Sociology*, 1930, by C. C. Zimmerman and Lynn Smith. For the other studies, see *Journal of Farm Economics*, October, 1928, and *American Journal of Sociology*, Vols. 32 and 33 (these earlier studies were with O. D. Duncan and Fred C. Frey). For other studies of migrations not covered in this series, see *Proceedings of the American Sociological Society*, 1929, "Selective Rural-Urban Migration," by C. C. Zimmerman; Chs. 23-26 in Sorokin and Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*, (1929); and "Urban migration and standards of living," *Proceedings of the Institute of Rural Affairs*, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, 1929, by C. C. Zimmerman.

² These data are a special tabulation from J. J. Corson's study with Wilson Gee as reported in *Rural depopulation in certain tidewater and piedmont areas of Virginia*, University of Virginia Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, Monograph No. 3, 1929, and from data gathered by Wilson Gee and W. H. Stauffer for a comparative study of rural and urban standards of living in Virginia, to be published by the University of Virginia Institute for Research in the Social Sciences.

first-born males were then on farms as compared with 37.8 per cent of all children. The conclusion was drawn that the "data give slight evidence that the first born male child in multi-children families tends to show greater preference for agriculture, in cases where the family originates in agriculture."

These data for Minnesota were taken from sections of the state in which there was continual migration from country to city and *vice versa* and where standards of living were high both in town and country. The study was limited to males alone. Theoretically, a population which has had less contact with cities would show greater differences, providing the factors associated with order of birth have causal relationships with urban selection through migration and that these causal relationships are general and constant. The Virginia studies which are here reported give just this type of sample. The families are located in the rural south where urbanization has not proceeded as far as in the north and northwest. Furthermore, the southern families reported here are not located as close to fairly large cities as those studied in Minnesota. At the very beginning, we must assume the hypothesis that if the factors associated with order of birth are general and constant forces in urban selection, the data for Virginia should show greater differences between the first and succeeding children than were found for Minnesota. With that condition in mind, let us examine the data for the two Virginia studies.

The first study includes 164 white and 111 Negro farm families residing in certain areas of rural Tidewater and Piedmont Virginia.³ In this sample there were included 734 white individuals, including

males and females, all of whom were adults at least 25 years of age. Of this group 164 were first-born children (107 first-child males and 57 first-child females). There were 152 first-born male children enumerated, 45 of which were not first-born children. Of the first-child males, 73.8 per cent were then in agriculture (1928) as compared to 58.0 per cent of all children, 65.2 per cent of all first-born children and 69.7 per cent of the first-born male children.

Among the Negroes included in this group the same trends are evident, although the lower percentages staying on farms support the general belief that the present urbanward mobility of this race is greater than that of the whites. In all, 573 Negro individuals, all of whom were adults of at least 25 years of age, were studied and information obtained as to their present residence and occupation. Of this total number of individuals, 43.5 per cent were found on farms in 1928 as compared to 62.5 per cent of the first-child males, 60.5 per cent of all first-born children, and 54.9 per cent of the first-born male children.

The second set of data is that for a group of 77 families residing in Bedford and Culpeper counties, Virginia.⁴ This group included 307 individuals, males and females, all of whom are now adults, at least 25 years of age and for whom the present residence and occupation is known. Of this number 77 were first-born children, of which 49 were males and 28 females. In addition, the first-born males irrespective of whether or not they were the first-born child were enumerated and 69 males are found in this group. With this sample it is found that 59.2 per cent of the first-child males were in agriculture (1928) as compared to 48.8 per cent of all chil-

³ The study by Gee and Corson, *op. cit.*

⁴ Gee and Stauffer's Study, *op. cit.*

dren studied, 61.0 per cent of all first-born children (male and female), and 62.3 per cent of all first-born males.

These studies were chosen by careful sampling from the rural population of Virginia. At the time they were gathered, the problem of order of birth and its

we must conclude that they bear out the results of the Minnesota study as to the influence of factors associated with order of birth as having causal relationships with rural-urban selection. Second, since these data bear out the general test of constancy as suggested earlier (that is, since

TABLE I
TIDEWATER AND PIEDMONT, VIRGINIA, SAMPLE PERCENTAGES OF CHILDREN NOW IN AGRICULTURE*

SOCIAL CLASSES	ALL CHILDREN NOW ON FARMS	ALL FIRST-BORN CHILDREN NOW ON FARMS	FIRST-BORN MALES NOW ON FARMS	FIRST-CHILD MALES NOW ON FARMS
All whites.....	58.0	65.2	69.7	73.8
Class 1.....	53.0	62.5	70.7	76.3
Class 2.....	60.8	74.6	75.9	78.9
Class 3.....	53.0	62.5	60.0	64.5
All Negroes.....	43.5	60.4	54.9	62.5
Class 1.....	44.1	64.4	55.8	64.7
Class 2.....	43.0	55.8	54.0	60.0

* Single child families omitted. Class 1 generally may be characterized as including the large landholders, in the majority of cases descendants of the plantation operators. Class 3 is made up of tenants, usually share tenants. The intermediate class, Class 2, contains the average farmer, or those who did not fall into either of the above groups. The Negro families are divided into but two classes: Negro farm owners and the tenants. The third and fourth columns are limited to males alone. The third considers only males among the first-born children. The fourth considers the first male children born in the families.

TABLE II
BEDFORD AND CULPEPER, VIRGINIA, SAMPLE PERCENTAGES OF CHILDREN NOW IN AGRICULTURE*

ECONOMIC GROUP	ALL CHILDREN NOW ON FARMS	ALL FIRST-BORN CHILDREN NOW ON FARMS	FIRST-BORN MALES NOW ON FARMS	FIRST-CHILD MALES NOW ON FARMS
Upper income group.....	56.9	46.8	54.5	55.5
Middle income group.....	45.0	62.8	63.1	60.7
Lower income group.....	51.8	66.6	65.0	58.3
Total.....	48.8	61.0	62.3	59.2

* Single child families omitted. The three groups are divided upon basis of living expenditures. They represent the economic groups in agriculture.

relation to rural-urban migration was not under consideration. Order of birth was taken as a portion of the total information of the studies. This method of selection has removed practically all chances that any bias of the investigators could affect the sample. Although there are some minor variations for the economic groups,

with greater general rural-urban differences, the influence of factors associated with order of birth show greater differences between the first-born and the other children), we must conclude that they present striking verification of the scientific validity of the theory. In other words, the fact that the Virginia samples,

gathered at random and for other purposes, and in communities where rural-urban differences are greater generally than in Minnesota, not only verify the theory of order of birth as a factor but show greater verification than the Minnesota sample, increases the plausibility of the causal relationships between the factors associated with order of birth and the selective rôle of urban migration.

With this statistical proof in mind, let us speculate as to just what are the factors in rural life which associate order of birth with rural-urban migration or selection. In other words, let us discount the idea that order of birth is a factor in itself and try to explain what is associated with order of birth which seems to make it a factor in urban selection.

Omitting the general claims as to innate differences between children of different orders of births within the same families, a theory which is by no means proved as yet, let us turn at once to certain social factors which give a plausible explanation of these differences in migration and selection. The most important of these seem to be: First, the great vitality and cohesion of the rural family which seeks for an agricultural succession at its shrine or home; and second, the first child, due to his or her maturity when the problems of the family press most heavily upon the parents, is more likely to be patterned after the mold and to assume the responsibilities of the family because he or she is most capable of furnishing assistance. *The agricultural family as a religious and vital unit seeks for succession to itself; the oldest child fits most often to the pattern of this succession for the simple reason that he or she comes first into contact with the family activities which mold the successor—namely responsibility to parents, to younger children, and to the economic needs of the family.*

Let us give some other facts which help to establish the plausibility of these factors as responsible for the greater agricultural selectivity of the first child. That the farm family is a unit with great cohesion and social vitality, may not be questioned, no matter how much some of the ardent advocates of loose family ties may proclaim against this fact. Its divorce rate is low; even in countries such as China where it is the established practice for the husband to take a concubine if he wishes (and where the concubines and their children are an economic asset to many families) the rural family does not add another mate in the majority of cases.⁵ Thus even "psychological divorce" does not come about in most cases.

Second, the birth-rate is higher, and the most of the purely agricultural religions speak in no uncertain terms against the practice of limitation of families, no matter what the reason.⁶ Third, the families include within the household or in the intermediate neighborhood more of the related members whether in time (such as grand parents) or colaterally (such as uncles, aunts or cousins). Thus the farm family approaches at all times closer to the unilateral or joint family system (in W. H. R. River's sense).⁷

⁵ See D. H. Kulp, *Sociology of Familism*, A. H. Smith, *Village Life in China*; Y. K. Leong, and L. K. Tao, *Village and Town Life in China*; Sing Ging Su, *The Chinese Family System*; H. P. Wilkinson, *The Family in Classical China*; Shirokogoroff, *Social Organization among the Manchus*; and others.

⁶ See Sorokin and Zimmerman, *Rural-urban sociology*, op. cit.; Ernst Grosse, *Die formen der familie und die formen der wirt-schaft*; Charles and Carrie Thwing, *The family*; See among other references the quotations from the ancestor cults on page 98 of M. Kovalevsky, "Tableau des origines et de l'évolution de la famille et de la propriété."

⁷ See River's *Social organization*; McClennan, *The patriarchal theory*; H. D. Irvine, *The making of rural Europe*; A. Moret and G. Davy, *From tribe to empire*, p. 55 ff. See also all the above references.

Fourth, the agricultural family is more often a religious unit as well as an economic, educational, procreative, and recreational unit. Purely rural countries such as China, pre-urban Rome and others have household religions and shrines in many cases. These shrines and religious codes are turned to the "ancestors" making the family a religious unit for its own worship and making the greatest duty of the present members the function of keeping up and carrying on the purposes of the family. These and other facts indicate clearly the great vitality of the rural family and the tremendous pressure it is willing to bring to secure an agricultural continuation. While the western family is highly "urban" and has grown far away from the early domestic traditions in agriculture, yet, in a relative sense, all these characteristics which indicate family vitality apply as truly to it. The farm family is "macrocosmic" in the sense of the word as used by O. Spengler. It is so near to nature that it fights as naturally for an agricultural succession as the unthinking plants and animals who are a part of nature itself. Typical early agricultural religions such as the Hebraic Old Testament and the Code of Manu warn the people directly against "wasting any of the family seed" for purposes other than an attempt at re-creation of the patterns of the family itself.⁸ These data, which may be expanded many times, point clearly at the proof of the great vitality of the farm family and its power in search of an agricultural succession.⁹

⁸ See the story of Sodom and Gemorrah in the Jewish Old Testament; See the "Zend Avesta," Vol. IV of *The Sacred Books of the East* (Edited by F. Max Muller, Oxford, 1880) tr. by James Darmesteter, part I, pp. 174-176 for admonitions concerning birth control; See also, the *Laws of Manu*, 25, in the above *Sacred Books of the East*, (translated by G. Buhler) p. 333 ff. on "wasting the seed."

⁹ See Book X of the *Li Ki* on the pattern of the

The fact that the older child should be subjugated to the wishes of the family more than the others is due to two general forces. Where the family is well-to-do, as among the rural aristocracy, this is often brought about by rewards such as the receipt of all or most of the family property by primogeniture or entail.¹⁰ In many cases, however, this property is so run-down that it has little economic value. The other children in pure rural societies become the assistants or helpers of the oldest male child and continue as members of his family. Some of them in time succeed the older brother upon his death. In more urban societies, these younger children leave the homestead to go to farms of their own or to urban occupations including the army and the military forces. Among the poorer families, this fact of agricultural succession is a "forced" succession, although it is done so cleverly, under the influence of the feelings of "religion" or family "duty," that the individual seldom rebels or feels unhappy under this enforced "servitude." It is not a conscious factor. It is the spirit or tradition of agriculture and the agrarian family. The individual, in most cases, sublimates himself for the family as naturally as the seed grows up to replace the parent stock. Whereas, there have been some very constant variations, such as in countries where the youngest son inherits the homestead, the most prevalent form of agricultural succession has been for the older son. It is a principle of first come, first served. In its specific working out

family, for the early (rural) Chinese attitude regarding the family. Vol. 27 of *The Sacred Books of the East*, as above, (translated by James Legge).

¹⁰ For Primogeniture see especially the article by George C. Broderick, in J. W. Probyn, (Ed.) *Systems of land tenure in various countries*, pp. 13-169; R. M. Garnier, *History of the English Landed Interest*, pp. 140-141 (1881); and Evelyn Cecil, *Primogeniture*, (1895).

it takes many and various forms such as "maintenance bonds," "tenant with father or on the father's farm" and the like; but all these result in the succession of the older child to the parental occupation of agriculture in a greater percentage of the cases than the total of all agricultural children succeed to agriculture.

With the above theory of the sociological factors associated with order of birth and urban selection in mind, let us turn to a discussion of the other significant problems connected with this deviation from a purely random selection. The first evident result is that this kind of selection tends to keep one or more representatives of each type of family in agriculture. That is, if we assume the economic and social classes in agriculture are differentiated from each other not only by their contemporary social positions, but also by some differences in the qualities of the population, then this conditioning of urban selection by order of birth is a racially hygienic process which tends to keep the population in the cities and in the country closely related to each other in all strata. In other words, if the above theory is true, there is small chance for biological differences between the city and country populations, especially where the city populations are recruited from the surrounding country populations, as was true in America before the South-European migrations following 1890, and as tends to be more true with the present restriction of immigration from abroad. Under such conditions, the theory of a qualitative selection of urban population from the better stock of the country districts, becomes less and less probable. An illustration from the figures given in the preceding tables will suffice to show this. In the first sample from Virginia, 53 per cent of the upper class whites as well as 53 per cent of the lower class whites mi-

grated to cities or to urban occupations. The proportions leaving the upper and lower farm classes for the cities were about the same—thanks to the encyclopedic organization and power of the farm family as discussed above. Among the Negroes, 44 per cent of the upper class stayed on farms and 43 per cent of the lower class:

In the second Virginia sample, the proportions from the upper class staying on the farms was greater than in the middle and lower classes, but this may have been a fluctuation due to the smallness of the sample. All of these data, including those from Minnesota analyzed in the first of this series of studies, tend to show that the urban recruits are, on the whole, as often selected from the lower strata of the population as from the upper. With these considerations in mind, and assuming that they are true for America, how can qualitative differences in the biological makeup of the population arise between the city and the country, unless they arise from processes inherent in the city itself, rather than in the selection it operates upon the country?

Our next and last step is to justify the taking of the social and economic classes in agriculture as rough measures of the quality of the population. Here we extend ourselves into a field which is the subject of the most different and diverse opinions, ranging from those of the radical environmentalists to some of the biologists and others (including many sociologists) who think that inherited or innate factors are the dominating characteristic in stratification of the population. Without taking an extreme position in regard to this question, we insist that it is plausible and logical to believe that if there are any biological differences in the population, the differentiation of the economic and social ladder in agriculture will tend to segregate more of the better qualified

in the upper classes than in the lower classes, and *vice versa*.

Omitting *all* other evidence and reasoning, we maintain that the differentiation of the Negro classes, and the fact that urban selection has affected these classes the same as similar white classes, give rather sure proof of our point. All of these Negroes started with the same opportunities about 65 or 70 years ago, following the Civil War. All of them were pauperized peasants removed but a year or so from human slavery. There was no inheritance of property, no start in life, no educational facilities (even yet there are none worth while in many districts) nor differences in opportunities, other than those which arose from the ability of some superior Negroes to take superior advantage of very meager opportunities and facilities. During this period of 75 years, these Negroes have all operated under the same limitations and social disfranchisements typical of the negro classes of the South. We are not upbraiding the Southern people for this characteristic, because in most cases it could not be helped. Many of the rural people have not been able to afford worthwhile educations for their own children, not to mention the children of their former slaves. The people were not wealthy as those in the north and west; in addition, they not only had to maintain a higher percentage of the more costly (per child) rural schools, but also had to maintain the dual system for Negroes and whites. Now, 70 years later, we find the Negroes divided into two classes, the owners and tenants. One has made greater progress up the agricultural ladder. In spite of

the fable of the tortoise and the hare, it seems reasonable to believe that one of the important dominating characteristics which has enabled this stratification within the ranks of the Negro peasants, into owners and tenants, is just that of some differences in native ability. We are willing to admit a high proportion of exceptions; at the same time, we still think that there are some differences in native ability. As long as the probability of these differences exists, and as the urban selection takes as heavily from the lower as from the upper classes, it is reasonable to think that urban selection is not, on the whole, qualitative in nature. However, this is an hypothesis, which is as valid as the data presented and the interpretation given. Those who differ may make their own studies and their own interpretations.

The final conclusion which may be drawn from this study, is that the urban characteristics which appear to give an urban society more of the refinements and embellishments of living are to be explained either by environmental processes in the urban society, or by the biological processes in the same urban society, rather than by its selection of a superior type from the rural districts, to the relative rejection of other types. Further, this conclusion has important bearing for those students who are attempting to "modernize" the rural family. Rural society and rural custom have been selected through long millenniums of accommodation to nature. Any undue or haphazard attempts to disturb the operation of this rural family unit may cause a disruption of extremely important social processes.

A SECOND STUDY OF PLAY IN RELATION TO SCHOOL PROGRESS

HARVEY C. LEHMAN AND PAUL A. WITTY

THE principle that education is life, a series of experiences, either spontaneous or guided, is finding rather general acceptance and educational writers are coming to consider the curriculum as made up of the sum total of activities constituting the entire behavior stream of the growing child. Previously, there existed a tendency to separate the behavior of the child into two categories, namely, curricular and extra-curricular. Extra-curricular activities have been considered those classroom activities growing out of the school organization which contribute little to grade placement or promotion. The results of the various extra-curricular activities have been found to be so far-reaching and so powerful in conditioning subsequent attitudes and behavior that modern educators are giving increased attention to them. Some hold therefore that the so-called extra-curricular activities constitute a legitimate part of the curriculum and demand utilization and guidance by the teacher.

If the latter position be adhered to, the school must assume the responsibility of *creating* interests which will carry over and condition recreational and leisure-time activities. Indeed, this might be said to be the basic concept underlying "cultural" education. If the educator is to train children for the profitable use of leisure it is first necessary to study the things that children actually do during their leisure time. The second step implies an evaluation of the multitudinous activities of childhood in terms of their individual and social worth.

In a study previously reported, the writers set forth certain facts regarding

the play behavior of more than 6,000 children grouped according to their varying rates of progress in school.¹ The number of play activities participated in and the mean indices of social participation were obtained for the various groups. In this earlier study no appreciable difference was revealed in the number of different play activities engaged in by children of widely varying progress quotients. There was however considerable variation among children of varying progress quotients as regards the *type* of plays and games in which they took part. The pedagogically retarded children were found to participate in a considerably larger number of *social* play activities, whereas, the pedagogically accelerated children differed little in this regard from children who had been promoted normally.

Since education must take into account the *total* behavior stream of the child, it is desirable to study the various *kinds* of play activities to which children of varying rates of progress in school turn. The purpose of this paper is to present salient differences between children of widely varying progress quotients in regard to the *kinds* of activities in which they engage spontaneously.

METHOD

The Lehman Play Quiz was given to more than 6,000 children in grades III-XI of the public schools of Kansas City, Missouri. The children were asked to indicate among a comprehensive and

¹ H. C. Lehman and P. A. Witty. "Play Activity and School Progress." *Jour. of Edu. Psy.* (1927), 18: 318-327.

catholic list of 200 activities *only those* activities in which they had engaged *during the preceding week*. The children were asked later to indicate: (1) The three activities which they liked best, (2) the one activity to which they thought they had given the most time, and (3) the activities in which they had participated alone.

Progress quotients were obtained by dividing the mean C.A. in months of Kansas City pupils of a given grade by the C.A. in months of each child in that grade.

In order to study the relationship between school progress and type of activity interest, three groups, each containing 65 boys, and three groups each containing 65 girls were isolated. The three groups were made up of: (1) Children retarded in school progress, i.e., over-age children, (2) children progressing normally through school, and (3) pedagogically accelerated children. The three groups were equated on the basis of: (1) Sex, (2) C.A., and (3) the school attended. The children ranged in C.A. from 8 to 12, most of them being from 10 to 12 years of age.

The mean progress quotient of the retarded boys was 89.49 (range 75-93). This indicates that the boys making slowest progress were retarded approximately 10 per cent of their C.A.'s. Similarly, the slow-moving girls were retarded approximately the same amount, the mean progress quotient for the retarded girls being 88.38 (range 74-93). For the accelerated boys the mean progress quotient was 110.76 (range 107-122); for the accelerated girls 111.96 (range 107-124).

RESULTS

In order to facilitate comparisons, a count was made of the activities to which the pedagogically retarded children turned with much greater frequency than the accelerated children. By this means 31 activities were identified in which the

retarded boys engaged with much greater frequency than the accelerated boys, the group difference being 10 per cent or more. Only 15 play activities were found in which the accelerated boys engaged much more often than the retarded boys, the group difference being 10 per cent or more. The corresponding numbers for the retarded and the accelerated girls were 35 and 8 respectively.

The mean number of activities participated in by each group was next ascertained. The mean number of activities participated in by the retarded boys was 47.77; the mean number engaged in by the accelerated boys was 41.00. The mean number of activities engaged in by the retarded girls was 36.18, whereas, the mean number for the accelerated girls was 29.33. Fifty-nine per cent of the retarded boys reached or exceeded in activity participation the median of the accelerated boys, and seventy per cent of the retarded girls reached or exceeded the median of the accelerated girls.

Collectively, the above data show: (1) That the retarded pupils were somewhat more versatile in their play interests than were the accelerated pupils; and (2) the retarded pupils tended also to participate more commonly in the same activities that their comrades participated in. This latter finding suggests that the retarded pupils may be more social than the accelerated pupils in their play responses. This point will receive later comment.

ACCELERATED PUPILS MORE MATURE IN THEIR PLAY BEHAVIOR

Since versatility of play interests has been found by the writers to decrease with increase of maturity² it seems reasonable that the retarded pupils (who were more

² H. C. Lehman and P. A. Witty. *The Psychology of Play Activities* (1927).

versatile) may be somewhat less mature in their play life than the accelerated pupils. Examination of the specific activities engaged in more frequently by the retarded pupils corroborates this hypothesis. The activities in which the retarded boys participated with greater frequency include the following: "Playing robber and police," "Playing Indian," "Playing cowboy," "Playing horse," "Coasting on a coaster," and playing with "Toy drum, toy horn, etc." One would expect such activities to appeal predominately to young children. Such play responses are not found among those to which the accelerated boys turned more frequently. The play activities of the latter include reading and other sedentary activities—activities such as might be expected to appeal chiefly to older individuals.

A similar difference was shown in the retarded and accelerated girls. The retarded girls participated more often than the accelerated girls in activities which would ordinarily be regarded as child games, activities appealing to immature children. For example, the retarded girls participated more often in "Playing school," "Playing house," playing with "Dolls, doll carriages, doll clothes, etc.," "Here I come. Where from?", "Hide the button," "Playing church," "London bridge," "Hide and seek," "Sliding on a playground slide," etc. The activities engaged in more frequently by the accelerated than by the retarded girls were on the whole of a more mature type.

One may conclude therefore that the retarded school child is inordinately interested in social plays and games, turning with great frequency to such activities, and that he exhibits also a tendency to participate in those types of activities whose appeal is chiefly to young children. The accelerated child plays fewer games; he is attracted most often by relatively

mature games and actively avoids participation in characteristically childish ones.

ACCELERATED PUPILS PARTICIPATE IN FEWER PLAY ACTIVITIES OF A MOTOR TYPE

The writers made a count of those activities which in their judgment involve a moderate amount of motor response. They also counted those activities which seem to demand rather vigorous motor activity. It is true of course that almost any activity involves some motor response. It is clear however that some activities involve much more of such response than others. When generous allowance is made for erroneous judgment in the above regard, it is evident that the retarded pupils participated much more frequently than the accelerated in activities involving motor response.

It is of especial interest that a distinctly motor type of activity, namely, "Roller-skating," headed the list of favorite activities both of the retarded girls and of the retarded boys. It is significant further that "Boxing," another pronouncedly vigorous activity, was engaged in with much greater frequency by retarded than by accelerated boys. Indeed, frequency of participation in "Boxing" may be said to vary inversely with the rate of progress in school. This latter finding is substantiated by two previous studies in which the writers found boxing to be less frequently participated in by gifted (Boys having an I.Q. 140 or above Stanford Revision of the Binet-Simon Test Rating) than by random selections of boys.³ It is probable that the accelerated boys possess on the average a higher I.Q. than the retarded boys. If this assumption be valid it follows that the present findings in reference to boxing corroborate the pre-

³ P. A. Witty and H. C. Lehman. "The Play Behavior of Fifty Gifted Children." *Jour. of Edu. Psy.* (1927) 18: 259-266.

vious studies and that interest in boxing may be said therefore to vary for groups of boys inversely with I.Q. and also inversely with school progress.

How can one account for the fact that activities of a motor type are so popular among pupils who progress slowly in their school work? The following hypotheses are presented by the writers as possible ones in explaining this phenomenon.

First, it seems likely that retarded school children are especially interested in activities which are most likely to be attended by undeniable success. Second, it is plausible that the retarded pupils are making slow progress because their spare-time activities cultivate interests and abilities which are peripheral to school interests and which therefore militate against maximal success in school work. Some evidence in substantiation of both these hypotheses is to be found from a study of these pupils' reading interests.

ACCELERATED PUPILS PARTICIPATE MORE FREQUENTLY IN ACTIVITIES WHICH REQUIRE READING

Four activities which require reading were more frequently participated in by the accelerated than by the retarded boys, namely, "Reading jokes or funny sayings," "Reading the newspapers," "Doing cross-word puzzles," and "Reading or looking at magazines." Although the list of activities more commonly engaged in by the retarded than by the accelerated boys was a comparatively long one, *no single activity* which required reading was to be found in the entire list.

The *attitude* of the accelerated boys toward reading was revealed also when examination was made of the activities more frequently mentioned as favorites and those judged by the pupils to consume the greatest amount of time. "Reading

books" was the one activity of the entire list of 200 that was most frequently mentioned as a favorite by the accelerated boys. This activity was also most frequently mentioned by the accelerated boys as the greatest time-consumer.

The accelerated girls were also predominately interested in reading activities while the retarded girls exhibited little interest in this regard. Two activities which require reading were more frequently participated in by the accelerated than by the retarded girls, namely, "Looking at the daily comic strips," and "Reading jokes or funny sayings," and two such activities were more often engaged in by the retarded girls, namely, "Reading short stories," and "Reading books." These data would seem to indicate that the retarded girls participate as commonly as the accelerated girls in reading activities. Closer inspection of all the data revealed however certain salient differences between the two groups in *attitude* toward reading. "Reading books" was the one activity of the entire list of 200 that was most frequently mentioned as a favorite by the accelerated girls and this activity was also the one which received most frequent mention as consuming the greatest amount of their time. It thus appears that, as compared with the retarded girls, the accelerated girls enjoyed reading to a greater extent and spent more time at reading.

One logically asks what effect the above differences in reading interest have upon school work. The two hypotheses presented earlier in the present paper are applicable at this point. It may be that the accelerated groups tend, like the retarded groups, to participate during their leisure hours in activities which offer the largest opportunity of success. On the other hand the very fact that the accel-

ated groups progress rapidly in school may be due, in part at least, to their more frequent participation in reading activities, and their less frequent participation in various other plays and games. If the latter hypothesis be accepted it follows that the data herein presented point the way to an evaluation of extra-curricular activities and to a successful guidance program.

ACCELERATED PUPILS LESS INTERESTED IN RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

It is of interest that the retarded pupils manifest more interest than the accelerated pupils in religious activities. In one activity only of a religious nature did the accelerated boys participate more frequently than the retarded boys, while the retarded girls engaged more often in church-going activities, liked them better, and spent more time participating therein than did the accelerated girls. Although the retarded boys did not attend Sunday school as frequently as the accelerated boys, those who did attend church or Sunday school appeared to enjoy the experience more than the accelerated boys for "Going to Sunday school," was mentioned as a favorite activity more frequently by retarded than by accelerated boys. Moreover, "Going to church or to mass," was more commonly mentioned by retarded boys with respect to: (1) participation, (2) favorite activity, and (3) most time-consuming.

Among the girls religious activities likewise received mention more often by those who were retarded. Thus, "Going to Sunday school," and "Going to church or to mass," were listed as favorites more frequently by retarded than by accelerated girls, and "Going to Sunday school," was more commonly mentioned by the retarded girls as an activity which consumed most of their time.

ACCELERATED PUPILS HAVE A LIVELIER SENSE OF HUMOR

Previous writers have pointed to the fact that children of high I.Q. manifest a livelier sense of humor than do children of average intelligence.⁴ If it be valid to assume that the pupils making rapid progress in their school work possess high I.Q's, the present study corroborates studies previously made. Of the activities more frequently participated in by accelerated boys, "reading jokes or funny sayings," heads the list, the percentage difference between accelerated and retarded boys being 29. (The writers are assuming that sense of humor is revealed in the tendency of children to read jokes and look at the comic section of the newspaper. One may logically question the calidity of this assumption. The data, however, present significant differences nevertheless.) Both "Looking at daily comic strips," and "Reading jokes or funny sayings," were more commonly engaged in by accelerated than by retarded girls, and "Looking at the Sunday funny paper," was more frequently mentioned as a favorite activity by the accelerated girls.

It is of interest to speculate in reference to the above group differences which appear so repeatedly. From the psychoanalytic standpoint humor may be thought to involve the release of inhibitions.⁵ There is some reason to suppose that the accelerated pupils are restricted more frequently than the retarded pupils for the latter engage in a wide variety of activities, apparently giving vent to the play impulse more frequently than the accelerated pupils. It is of course possible that the accelerated pupils possess less

⁴ L. M. Terman. *The Intelligence of School Children*, (1919) p. 183.

⁵ C. M. Diserens. "Recent Theories of Laughter." *Psychol. Bul.* (1926) V. 23, p. 249.

of the play impulse than retarded pupils but it seems more plausible to assume that they have learned better to control their whims and impulses.

ACCELERATED PUPILS ARE LESS SOCIAL IN
THEIR PLAY

For each child the total number of play activities engaged in during the preceding week was ascertained. The number participated in in company with one or more additional children was next determined. The percentage of the total number of activities that these social activities represented was designated the index of social participation. Thus an index of social participation of 70 indicates that 70 per cent of the activities engaged in by a given child were ones in which one or more other children also took part.

The mean index of social participation was ascertained for each group. The mean index of social participation for the retarded boys was 67.31; for the accelerated boys 60.72. Sixty-six per cent of the retarded boys reached or exceeded the median index of social participation of the accelerated group. A similar group difference was found for the girls, the mean index of social participation of the retarded girls being 61.35, whereas, the mean index of social participation for the accelerated girls was 57.62. Sixty per cent of the retarded girls reached or exceeded the median index of social participation of the accelerated girls.

Another method of studying the relative sociability of the two groups of pupils is to examine the specific activities receiving more frequent mention by each group. The writers attempted to identify the specific activities which in their judgment would be most likely to involve social situations.

It was at once apparent that the play

activities of the retarded groups are more likely to involve social contacts than are the play activities of greatest appeal to the accelerated groups. This fact becomes even more evident when it is recalled that reading activities are especially preferred by the accelerated children.

The present findings therefore corroborate those previously reported.⁶ In seeking an explanation for the relatively great sociability of the retarded pupils an hypothesis previously presented in the present paper may again be used. It seems likely that the human organism tries out numerous modes of behavior until satisfyingness is achieved to some degree. (In advancing this hypothesis the writers do not commit themselves unreservedly to hedonism. It is of course impossible to explain all of the play activity of any group of individuals by a single or simple formula. Play activity is a function of multitudinous variables and is not to be explained easily. The writers suggest the above hypothesis as one likely explanation for certain types of the play response.) For the child retarded in school progress, social activities seem to offer easily accessible and intensely satisfying channels for energy expenditure. In many of these activities abstract intelligence of the kind demanded for success in school is not so important or necessary. In these activities the retarded child finds ready success and satisfyingness precluded in school work.

It is sometimes assumed that school work should be based largely upon the child's "felt need." It seems plausible to assume that the type of activity in which the child spontaneously and voluntarily participates is a reflection of his felt

⁶ H. C. Lehman and P. A. Witty. "Play Activity and School Progress." *Jour. of Edu. Psy.* (1927) 18: 318-327.

need. The pedagogically retarded child then demonstrates a conspicuous need for and active interest in plays and games which provide: (1) An abundance of motor responses, (2) much social participation, (3) little humor, and (4) little or no reading. It is unsound to adopt *in toto* the hypothesis that school work should be based upon the child's felt need. If the preceding hypothesis be followed to its logical conclusion it would follow that opportunity to smoke should be provided for some of the retarded boys since some of them indicated that they had participated in this activity "just because they wanted to do so." Such a conclusion would be, of course, preposterous. It seems more sensible to assume that the felt needs of the child are in themselves inadequate criteria for purposes of curriculum construction. Indeed, the felt need itself may be indicative of the fact that the child has already been permitted to follow his individual whims to excess and that he needs a guiding hand.

Under such circumstances it is scarcely to be doubted that the subjective estimates of his parents and teachers in reference to his *actual* needs must come to the rescue.

It is of course true that academic attainment would be stamped in best by appealing to the child's intrinsic interests. It seems therefore that recognition and judicious utilization of the retarded child's fondness for social activities might operate as an effective incentive in motivating him in his academic work. The retarded child's inordinate fondness for motor activities might be used similarly.

It may be that the relatively great sociability of the retarded pupils is indi-

cative of superior potentiality in this regard. If so, attention might well be directed toward turning this sociability to good account in school activities and in vocational guidance. Some might assert that the retarded pupils are slow in their school progress because of the fact that their social propensities have already received over-stimulation. At any rate, information regarding *each* child's sociability should form a recognized part of a careful accounting program.

It is possible that the retarded child's social development makes up in part at least for his pedagogical retardation; the validity of this assumption will need to be substantiated by subsequent investigation. There is need for careful case studies of the personality development of the pedagogically retarded child. Such studies will need to follow the child's development, and his success as an adult in the game of life will need also to be taken into account.

Certainly, the child retarded in school progress is a serious problem to the conscientious educator. Such a child is an educational misfit. The school should make an attempt to salvage him through appeal to his interests and abilities. The writers have shown that the retarded child demonstrates an unusual interest in motor activities and social ones. These facts should be of conspicuous value to the educator for a sane and successful educational program must recognize the interests and abilities of the child. Such recognition must of course be tempered by sound adult judgment of what the child *actually* needs. In this way only can the school be made to yield its maximal returns.

RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS, SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, program and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

AGRICULTURAL CREDIT AND THE NEGRO FARMER: I

ROLAND B. EUSTLER

CREDIT has long been an important factor in farm finances. Conditions under which farmers receive credit exercise a marked influence on the success of farming operations. Former studies of agricultural credit in North Carolina have shown that credit facilities are limited, that the credit available does not always economically meet the needs of the farmers, and that the costs are high.¹ Knowledge of the actual credit conditions and practices is essential in aiding in the solution of the credit problem of the Negro farmer.

Credit is needed for the purchase and permanent improvement of property, for financing the production of crops, for the purchase of equipment, fertilizer, and seed, and for meeting living expenses. The

problem is one of understanding the credit facilities which are available for each of these purposes, the sources upon which dependence for credit needs is placed, the adequacy with which existing facilities meet the demands and needs for credit, the conditions which must be met incident to the credit received, and the costs of credit.

The importance of credit in the system of southern agriculture and especially in the economy of the Negro farmer is indicated by the large proportion of farmers who are compelled to depend on credit to carry them through the year. A summary of the 588 farmers interviewed in this study indicates that a very high percentage of them resorted to each of four types of credit, and that with the one exception of mortgage credit, the costs are excessive and constitute a heavy drain on the farmer's income.

¹ Yoder, Beardsley, and Honeycutt: *Farm Credit in North Carolina*, Bulletin N. C. Dept. of Agriculture, May 1923. U. S. Dpt. of Agriculture Yearbook, 1924; *Farm Credit*, pp. 228-231. N. C. Tenancy Commission: *Farm Economic and Social Conditions*, 1923, pp. 30-31. For comparative purposes, the student of agricultural credits can find much valuable data in the following articles in the Federal Reserve Bulletin: *Financing the Production and Distribution of Tobacco*, reprinted from Sept., Oct., Nov., Dec., 1922 and March and April, 1923, Bulletins; and *Financing the Production and Distribution of Cotton*, reprinted from Feb., March, April, May and June 1923 Bulletins.

PROPORTION OF FARMERS USING CREDIT AND COST OF CREDIT

TYPE OF CREDIT	PERCENT- AGE USING CREDIT	COST OF CREDIT
Mortgages.....	51.0	6.0
Short Time Cash.....	43.0	16.8
Fertilizer.....	65.5	37.2
Merchant.....	52.4	26.0

THE AREA SURVEYED

The information in this study was gathered from personal interviews with 588 Negro farmers. An effort was made to secure definite and detailed information about the various types of loans used. The statements of the farmer were checked by general interviews with bankers, merchants, and landlords. Wherever possible the schedule was supplemented by copies of bills and accounts, bank deposit slips, receipts, and canceled notes.

Of the total 588 farmers, 313 were farm owners. This is a higher proportion of owners than the average for the state, but 120 of these owners rented additional land from other landlords. This number, with the 275 tenants, gives a fairly representative distribution between owners and tenants.

The area surveyed consists of 12 counties which are scattered in the eastern and central sections of North Carolina. The selection of these counties was due to the concentration of the rural Negro population in the lower piedmont and coastal plain area of the State. Attention was also given to differences in soil conditions and the kinds of crops planted. The counties vary from the cotton-peanut-tobacco belt in Halifax and Edgecombe to the cotton-tobacco belt in Pitt, Wake, Wayne, and Robeson to the cotton belt in Cumberland and Harnett with truck being represented in Duplin and Wayne. These counties are representative of the major crop regions in the sections where the Negroes form the greatest proportion of the population. The cases to be interviewed in each county were selected so as to secure representation from all sections of the county. In no instance were a large number of tenants on the same farm interviewed since one or two cases from each gave the usual method of financing for that farm.

It is interesting to note that the kind of tenant contract tends to be influenced by the kinds of crops planted. Thus in Hertford, a cotton-peanut county, there is a concentration on the one-half crop system in which the landlord furnishes the team and one-half the fertilizer and receives half the crop. This is also true in Northampton, Halifax and Bertie, though in the latter there is a tendency to the one-fourth and one-third crop system in sections of the county. In such contracts, the landlord furnishes the land and either one-fourth or one-third of the fertilizer and receives a proportion of the crop equal to the proportion of fertilizer furnished. In the counties where tobacco is grown in addition to cotton, there is a noticeable concentration on the one-third crop system. Pitt, Edgecombe, Wake, and Wayne are the counties where this form of tenantry predominates. In cotton counties, as in Cumberland, Harnett, and Robeson, the general type of tenantry is for one-half share with the landlord furnishing the land and the fertilizer and the tenant furnishing the team. In Cumberland, however, there were a number of cases where two-thirds of the crop was given to the landlord as rent.

The system of land tenure in the South determines in a large degree the needs of credit. Under the one-half share system, usually called "cropping," the tenant furnishes little and is often penniless. His contribution depends entirely upon his ability to raise a crop, and during the six or eight months' period when the crop is growing he is dependent upon the landlord or the merchant for food, feed for his stock, clothes for his family, seeds, fertilizers, and incidental expenses. The agency advancing this credit is dependent upon the tenant's half of the crop for repayment. Under this system there is a marked concentration on money crops

—cotton, tobacco or peanuts—because both the landlord and the tenant desire to raise as much of the cash crops as they can produce. It is impossible to divide food and feed crops or garden trucks as easily as it is cotton or tobacco. To a less degree the tenants who farm for two-thirds or three-fourths of the crop are also dependent upon credit for their living and farming expenses. These men usually have their farm animals and implements and sometimes have the feed necessary to carry these animals through the winter but often they, too, depend on credit for these items as well as for their seeds and fertilizers. The independent renters of land and landowners resort less to the use of credit but even among this class there is such a marked concentration on the growing of money crops that the farmers do not produce a sufficient amount of food and feed stuffs.

Corn is universally planted by the owners for use both as a feed and food crop and usually occupies about one-third of the total acreage planted. The percentage of the total acreage planted in corn is fairly uniform in the several counties.

The percentage of the total acreage planted in cotton varies directly with the amount of other cash crops planted. It is lowest in Hertford, Bertie, and Duplin, the two former having peanuts as the major crop and the latter supplementing cotton with tobacco and truck. The cotton acreage in the tobacco counties shows a high percentage of the total since cotton and tobacco do not materially conflict in their demands for labor during the crop and harvesting seasons. The percentage of the total acreage planted in cotton varies from 15 to 60 per cent but averages slightly over 40 per cent.

The tenants interviewed likewise place major dependence upon cash crops. The concentration is even more pronounced

than with the owners since the acreage devoted to corn and to truck, hay, and grain by tenants is less than by owners. The average for all counties studied shows that the owners planted over 4 per cent more of their total acreage in corn than did the tenants.

In every county except Halifax and Wayne, the tenants planted a larger proportion of their total acreage in cotton than did the owners; the average for all counties giving the tenants practically six per cent more. Likewise with tobacco and peanuts the tenants devoted a larger percentage of their total acreage to these than did the owners.

The concentration of production on cash crops, with little or no emphasis upon feed and food crops, signifies either that the income from each year's crop must be large enough to finance production of the succeeding crop and living expenses for the next year or that the farmer must depend upon credit for financing his crop and meeting living expenses. This factor is important in understanding the extent to which Negro farmers depend upon credit and in interpreting their needs for and their use of credit.

Another condition affecting credit conditions among the Negro farmers in North Carolina is that they themselves have little understanding of the credit situation and the wise use of credit. They know little more than that funds are needed, and without regard to costs and conditions which must be met, they turn in their ignorance and helplessness to the sources from which credit can be secured most easily.

For the purpose of analysis, credit conditions are divided into mortgage credit, short time cash credit, fertilizer credit, and merchant credit. Each of these supplies a special need and they will be discussed in detail in the following sections.

MORTGAGE CREDIT

Long term credit with which to purchase property or make permanent improvement is used extensively in farming. Mortgage encumbrances for the United States amount to about two-thirds of the total farm debt.² For the selected area surveyed in North Carolina, the mortgage debt of the Negro farm-owners interviewed amounted to 55 per cent of their total debt.

On \$852,810 worth of land, \$329,043 constituted the mortgage indebtedness. Over 50 per cent of the farm owners interviewed reported mortgages against their property. Only in two counties, Cumberland and Duplin, was the percentage noticeably less than this figure. In the other counties, the number reporting mortgages was usually between 50 and 60 per cent. Likewise, the ratio of the amount of indebtedness to the value of the mortgaged property was generally between 30 and 40 per cent. Harnett and Wayne are the only counties with a noticeably higher ratio. The average for all the counties is 39 per cent. In 1920, the ratio of debt to the value of mortgaged property for all mortgaged farms in North Carolina was 31 per cent and for the United States as a whole it was slightly over twenty-nine per cent.³ From this comparison, it would seem that the Negro farmers in North Carolina generally have a heavier mortgage encumbrance against their property than do other farmers.

The purpose of farm mortgage loans was in the majority of cases to secure the payment for property. It is naturally to be expected that a mortgage would be given as security for part payment of the original purchase price of property. This is

demonstrated by the fact that over 58 per cent of the mortgages are held by individuals with two-thirds of such mortgages representing security for payments on property. Mortgage loans for permanent improvement represent only 12 per cent of the total number of loans. Possibly the reason why no more mortgages were contracted for permanent improvements is that the Negro farmers do not always realize the necessity and economy in improving property and increasing productivity. It is also interesting to note that practically 12 per cent of the mortgages were contracted for the purpose of paying off back debts. Seven cases, slightly over four per cent of the total number, relied upon mortgages for the purpose of meeting short time cash needs or for the purchase of fertilizer.

With this wide distribution in the use of mortgage loans, one would expect that the different agencies granting the loans would cater to loans for particular purposes and for different lengths of time for maturity. The predominant use from all sources, however, is as security for payments on property. This is true for Federal agencies which grant long term loans, for commercial banks which usually grant short term loans, and for individuals whose loans range for various lengths of time.

Primary dependence for farm mortgage loans is placed upon individuals. As has been pointed out, individuals accept a mortgage as security for part payment on property sold by them. Very little money is borrowed directly from individuals. Commercial banks made 16 per cent of the total number of mortgage loans though they do not cater to this type of loan.

The Federal agencies, Federal Farm Loan Banks, and Joint Stock Land Banks, are also making loans to Negroes. This is particularly true for the latter agency

² U. S. Dept. of Agriculture Yearbook, 1924, *Farm Credit*, p. 189.

³ U. S. Census, 1920, State Compendiums and Volumes on Agriculture.

since 18 per cent of the mortgages given by the group studied are held by these banks. There has been relatively little use of the Federal Farm Loan Banks by Negroes, because these loans are not made to individuals except as they are included as members of groups jointly responsible for the repayment of all of the mortgages of the group. Negroes are generally excluded from membership in white associations and they lack leadership and initiative in forming associations of their own. It is also true that white farmers have not fully developed the possibilities offered by the Federal agencies and often do not realize the advantage of loans through these sources.⁴

There is, too, a general attitude of fear toward the Federal agencies. This arises primarily from the fact that the Negro does not know their purposes and method of operation. Very few of them understand the principles of amortization and quite a few farmers entertained the idea that it was simply a scheme to defraud them out of land. Since the Negro generally does not know and realize the advantage and necessity of borrowing for a long period of time, the long terms of the Federal loans seem to him to be a disadvantage. The fact that the loans could not be repaid during the initial five years of their existence made them fear that their property would become hopelessly involved.

Moreover, the payment of the annual interest and principal payments in two installments creates both hardships and fear. Fear arises because the payments have to be met exactly at the time when the payment becomes due—and the Negro has become accustomed to dealing with agencies which will permit repayment as the marketing of crops permits. Hardships

⁴ Yoder, Beardsley, and Honeycutt, *Farm Credit in North Carolina*, pp. 9-14.

arise since one of the payments necessarily falls due during the crop production season when the farmer is either without money, or needs what he has available to finance his production activities. This means that the money for one payment must be borrowed from some local source and there is some evidence that many of the holders of these loans have to resort to local borrowings to meet the payment falling due during the crop season.

Usually, too, loans from Joint Stock Land Banks had to be secured through the service of local lawyers. There is some objection on the part of the Negro farm owners to meeting the lawyers' fees and paying for the title, appraisal, and survey, and the Federal agencies have not been active in instructing the Negroes in these matters. Several instances were also found where the Negro was persuaded to use some local source in preference to a Joint Stock Land Bank. However, the local county farm demonstrating agents are disseminating information calculated to provide some understanding of the situation.

There is only one Negro federal farm loan association operating in North Carolina. This association, called the Tri-County National Farm Loan Association, was organized in 1918 with 10 members, expanding to a membership of 84 by the beginning of 1927. The operation of this association has been successful: 88 loans, 4 of which are re-loans, have been placed with no foreclosures and only one case of the interest payment being defaulted. Three loans have been redeemed and one transferred. A total of \$175,000 has been loaned with practically \$164,000 outstanding early in 1927. The success of this association, where intelligent leadership is available, represents the possibilities within the reach of other farm loan associations.

The distribution of mortgage loans, according to term and source shows a wide range in the terms of loans granted by individuals and commercial banks, the latter tending to grant loans only for a year or less. Several of the loans reported for longer terms were loans originally made for only one year and subsequently renewed with each year. It is natural that the banks do not like to place their funds in mortgage loans running for a period of years. Likewise, many of the loans granted by individuals were for a period of only one year. However, since most of the loans made by individuals were as a part payment on property, many of them have a longer term, ranging from three to ten years. Twenty-five of the borrowers from individuals either did not know how long the loans were to run or reported them as indefinite. As far as could be learned, most of these were cases where no definite term was stated but where the borrower was expected to make principal payments as large and as often as possible.

The loans by the Federal agencies all have a term of 33 years. The Negro farmer, however, usually does not want a loan for that length of time. His attitude toward a mortgage debt is one of fear and he will make every effort to liquidate it so that he can be sure that his property is no longer involved and therefore can not be taken from him. The sooner that a loan can be repaid, the better it suits him. This attitude toward mortgage debt arises partly from the above mentioned fear and partly from the failure to realize that a profit can be made with the use of borrowed money. The Negro farmer seldom understands how a long time investment in the purchase of productive farm land or permanent improvements will increase productivity and result in greater profit from farming activities. And unless this is understood,

it cannot be expected that efforts would be made to utilize facilities which are designed to supply credit for these needs on economical terms.

The interest rate on these loans tends to hover around 6 per cent with only a few cases of scattered individuals charging more than this legal rate; while the $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent rate of the Federal agencies tends to offset these few cases of high charges and keep the average rate for all loans at 6 per cent. Public registration of mortgages also tends to keep the interest rate within the legal maximum of 6 per cent. Moreover, the first mortgage security offered for these loans is generally safe and the amount of the loan averages only 38 per cent of the value of the property mortgaged. The negro, too, is desirous of keeping his property and even though his payments are not always prompt he will, if given time, meet all the charges of the mortgage against his property.

In cases where a higher charge is to be made or where the lender wishes to be compensated for a poor risk, the device of "extra charges" and "Bonus" is used. Only a few, 15 in number, reported extra charges. No uniformity can be noticed in the ratio of these charges since they vary from less than one per cent to over 16 per cent. It is possible, too, that these charges were made as compensation for poor risks rather than as exploitation of the borrower.

Another device used by lenders on mortgage security is to charge interest on the whole amount of the loan while the principal is being repaid in annual installments. While only two cases of this were found, there was some evidence that many of the mortgage loans were handled in this fashion. Unfortunately, there was general ignorance on the part of the borrowers about the amount of their loans, conditions of repayment,

lengths of term, and charges. The data which could be secured for mortgage loans is therefore only indicative of the conditions facing the Negro farmers. The facts submitted, however, show that the Negro farmers frequently make an unwise use of mortgage credit and the conditions of the loans are needlessly disadvantageous. It is not to be expected that there will be a more effective use of mortgage credit by Negro farmers unless they become educated to the use of this credit in such a way that investments are wisely made.

SHORT TIME CASH LOANS

The data presented for short time cash loans are illustrative of the conditions surrounding credit for crop production purposes, the sources upon which Negro farmers are dependent, and the high costs of this credit.

Financial needs for planting and harvesting crops must be met and funds for these purposes must be secured when needed. If funds are not available at the strategic time, a whole crop may be lost or impaired in value. Accordingly, any source from which funds can be borrowed will be utilized—and this usually without regard to cost.

In the 12 counties surveyed, the amount of money borrowed by 250 farmers on short time cash loans amounted to \$71,748.00, or an average of \$286.99 per farmer. There is shown a wide dispersion in both total and average amounts borrowed in the several counties. The total amounts borrowed per county range from \$9,562.00 in Edgecombe to \$1,090.00 in Duplin; and from an average of \$398.42 per borrower to \$83.84 per borrower in the same counties. The causes for this seem to be explained by crop needs, the kind of tenant system, and the available sources for credit in the several counties.

Purposes of short time cash loans, show

a decided concentration on general farm expense. This item includes such needs as seed, equipment, labor, harvesting crops, preparation of crops for market, and, quite often, living expenses which the Negro farmer universally considers as a farm expense. Many short time loans, too, were for the sole purpose of meeting living expenses. Only a few, 22 in number, were for the purchase of fertilizer.

When the purpose of loans is distributed according to the source granting the loan, a functional division can be noticed. The banks make most of their loans for general farm expenses; individuals grant loans both for farm expense and living expense; and landlords, while making some loans for farm activities, make most of their loans for living expenses. Primary dependence for short time cash loans is placed on local agencies. Commercial banks granted the largest number, with landlords, individuals, and merchants following in order. From a total of 250 loans, only 11 were placed by agencies other than those mentioned above.

Commercial banks can handle these short time cash loans, though it appears that they neither wish to place too many of their risks upon crops nor ordinarily like to advance funds for the whole of the crop season. The Negro, too, cannot understand why the bank wishes to inquire into all the details of farm activities and why promptness in repayment is required.

Landlords advance cash to their tenants during the crop season for both farm and living expenses. This method is followed with some tenants when the landlord agrees to furnish stipulated amounts of cash per month for living expense or agrees to advance the funds necessary for planting and harvesting the crop. The use of landlord credit was most prevalent in Cumberland, Edgecombe, Pitt, and Robeson counties.

Local individuals sometimes loan money for crop and living expenses. However, over half the loans by individuals were made in Halifax, Bertie, and Wake counties. The reason for this concentration is explained by the activities of a large planter in Wake County and fertilizer agents in Halifax and Bertie. In contracting to deliver fertilizer, the fertilizer agents require crop liens as security. This leaves the farmer without other security to offer for loans from other sources so that the practice gradually developed of agreeing to furnish cash for production needs as well as fertilizer on these contracts. The Wake County planter financed the needs of Negro farmers in one section of the county by taking a crop lien as security.

The practice is also prevalent of giving crop liens to merchants as security for fertilizer and provisions brought on time. Since the farmer can offer no other security than a crop lien, merchants developed the practice of supplying cash for harvesting crops under their contracts for fertilizer or provisions. Most of the merchant loans reported were of this nature.

The only use of the Intermediate Credit Banks was made by a few members of the Cotton Cooperative Association. Other farmers did not know about the Intermediate Credit Banks and their use was not encouraged by local banks. Loans from this source, too, were usually placed through local lawyers and this tended to offset the advantages which are offered by these banks.

The Negro coöperative credit unions organized in this State were unsuccessful in meeting short time cash requirements. Failure to understand the coöperative principle, suspicion of financial schemes, lack of education, lack of business methods, inability to keep records and books, and lack of good leadership presented obstacles to

their success. Moreover, the fact that the credit union necessarily starts on a small scale and cannot meet all needs from the beginning makes it difficult for the Negroes to develop an association which would be effective in meeting their credit needs. Even the white associations have met with only limited success and few of the white unions operate on sufficiently large scale to supply the needs of members.

Following the passage of the North Carolina Credit Union Law⁵ in 1915, efforts were made to establish credit unions through the State. With enthusiasm imparted by organizers, some Negro associations were formed. Their financial condition as of January 1, 1923 shows that they developed very little after their establishment and that their volume was of only slight significance in the total credit supplies. All of these associations, with the exception of two in Rowan County, have been liquidated or have become inactive. The causes of their failure are reputed to be:⁶ (1) Ignorance of business methods; (2) distrust of each other in handling money; (3) exploitation of several by Negro county agents; (4) lack of leadership; (5) Possibly inadequate supervision. At the present time, a few of the white associations permit selected Negroes to deposit with them and to receive loans from them. These cases, however, are scarce.

Except in the case of commercial banks, a crop lien was usually given as a security for short time cash loans. Banks showed a preference for endorsed notes since they do not like to advance money on a crop lien security wherein the risk for the success of the crop is assumed. Endorse-

⁵ Public Laws of North Carolina, Session 1915, Chap. 115.

⁶ Letter, dated October 14, 1926, from Supt., Savings and Loan Associations of the N. C. Dept. of Agriculture.

ments were usually made by a tenant's landlord or some white farmer in the neighborhood.⁷ Almost the only security which the Negro farmers can offer for any loan is a crop lien. In most instances, a chattel mortgage would have little value. Accordingly, when a crop lien is given as security for a loan, all credit requirements must be met from that same source. It is for this reason that many of the short time cash loans were reported as having been made by merchants, landlords, and individuals.

It is interesting to note that nine real estate mortgages were given as security for short time loans; three of these being held by banks and six by individuals.

The length of the credit period for short time cash loans tends to correspond to the length of the crop season. Bank loans were granted for the shortest terms though most of the loans from this source had a maturity of between three and five months. The landlord and merchant loans were usually granted for the whole length of the crop season or were granted in monthly installments during the crop season. The several one and two months loans reported from these sources were cases where money was loaned for housing crops late in the crop season. All of the loans made by individuals were for three months or longer except a few granted during the last months of the crop season for housing crops.

There are wide differences in the cost of short time cash loans for the different agencies. Bank charges tended to conform to the legal rate of 6 per cent except in a few cases. The payment of bank interest in advance causes the real cost to

be slightly higher than six per cent. Also, in some cases, the loans made by the banks were small and ran only for a short time so that a minimum service fee caused the per annum charge to be slightly higher than six per cent. The bank loans, however, were usually for the best risks and there was no reason to make higher charges.

Merchant and landlord loans are influenced by the North Carolina crop lien law which permits a charge of 10 per cent on advances for agricultural purposes. This law will be more fully discussed under merchant credit. However, the practice of charging a flat 10 per cent on money loaned without consideration of the time involved causes the per annum charge to be somewhat higher. Merchant costs averaged over 23 per cent, and landlord over 20 per cent. Moreover when a single source holds the only security which can be offered for a loan, the charges made against loans can be higher. The loans made by individuals showed a wide range of interest rates. In general, however, loans from this source were made on the same terms as loans made by merchants and landlords.

Yoder, in his survey of farm credit in 1923, reported that bank charges for colored farmers averaged 6.07 per cent, landlord charges 8.35 per cent, and other individual charges 7.34 per cent. In both bank and landlord loans, the average rate for Negroes was slightly less than for whites.⁸

The per annum costs reflect the practice of making a flat charge regardless of the length of the term of the loan. Practically all cases of merchant, landlord, and individual loans reported this condition. Since the credit period tends to range around six months, the charges shown are

⁷ The crop lien is used only to a slight extent as security for bank loans in the South. Most of the bank loans are made on endorsed notes. (See Federal Reserve Bulletin, March, 1923, *Financing the Production and Distribution of Cotton*.)

⁸ Yoder, Beardsley & Honeycutt; *Farm Credit in N. C.* p. 17.

for loans usually contracted at the beginning of or during the crop season and repaid immediately as the crops are harvested and marketed. The flat charge thus made results in a high per annum rate.

Owners depend more upon short time cash for financing production than do tenants. Fifty-six per cent of the total short time credit was utilized by owners. When distributed by sources, 84 per cent of the users of bank credit, 63 per cent of the users of merchant credit, and 70 per cent of the users of individual credit were owners. The tenants, therefore, were primarily dependent upon landlords for their short time cash needs, although a few loans were secured through the other agencies. Of the total number of tenants using short

time cash loans, 65 per cent received their credit from landlords, 16 per cent from banks, 11 per cent from merchants, and 8 per cent from individuals.

As long as the crop lien is given as security for a loan and all financing is done through the agency which holds this crop lien, there is little probability that there will be any improvement in short time credit conditions for negro farmers. The chief problems seem to be, therefore, developing knowledge of the use of credit for productive purposes; the development and use of credit agencies which will meet needs effectively and economically; and the development of credit agencies which can supply the needs of the tenant.

(To be Concluded)

NOTES ON PSYCHOLOGICAL RACE DIFFERENCES

PETER COOPER

THE problem of psychological differences of race is as challenging as it is interesting. Numerous investigations have been carried on in recent years to determine innate differences in intellectual capacity, especially between white and Negro groups. A survey of the literature reporting these investigations leads one to the conclusion that no adequate proofs have been adduced to establish any claim to inherent racial differences with respect to intelligence.

But what of personality traits? Here the problem of racial comparisons is extremely difficult because of the paucity of tests available for quantitative statements of results. The Allport Ascendancy-Submission Reaction Study is a splendid venture into this new field, and this paper purports to give the finding of the Allport test among Negro groups and to compare them with corresponding white groups.

The writer is a teacher of psychology (white) in a Negro college, and is undertaking a series of tests to determine personality differences between white and Negro students. The Allport test is especially valuable because of the norms already obtained among white students. The traits, ascendance and submission, are described by Dr. F. H. Allport in his *Social Psychology*, p. 119, as follows, "If two persons of equal status come into a face-to-face relation, and if the behavior of each is a response solely to the immediate behavior of the other, there generally results a conflict, genuine, though often unconscious. The reaction of each is centered in the drives of his own personality. Even where there is agreement as to the ends desired from the interview, there will be some ground for friction as to the choice of means. Social behavior is not a smoothly running machine, but a succession of conflicts and readjustments be-

tween individuals. Each one therefore strives to carry his point in the encounter. In the sequel there stands revealed one of the fundamental traits of personality. One is likely to become the master; his impulse dominates. The other yields and adjusts his behavior to the control of the first. The former personality we may call ascendant—the latter, submissive."

The norms obtained by the Allports are based on the tests as given to men and women in the sophomore, junior, and senior classes of white colleges, and the results reported below are from corresponding classes in a Negro college. The tests present life situations to which the person tested gives his normal reactions. There are thirty-five of these situations in the test for women and thirty-three in the men's test. The norms obtained by the Allports are based on 727 cases for the form for men and 120 cases for the form for women:

The following represents a comparison of the scores obtained by the Allports and those I obtained from twenty-eight Negro men students and an equal number of Negro women students.

<i>Extreme scores</i>			
White.....	{ +64 -55	+59 -50	
Negro.....	{ +25 -29	+45 -13	
White:			
Mean.....	-0.35	+16.2	
Median.....	0.00	+15.4	
Negro:			
Mean.....	+1.33	+17.6	
Median.....	+3.00	+17.5	

It will be noted that there is considerable difference between the extreme scores of white students and Negroes, but this may be due to the fewer number of Negroes tested. However, there is a striking similarity between the means and medians of the two groups. The conclusion to be drawn from this comparison is this, that in this phase of personality there are no racial differences. The really significant differences are within the white and Negro groups and not between them; in fact, the differences within the group are more than fifty times as great as those between the groups.

A further interesting observation is the following: that this test disproves the traditional view that the Negro is innately more submissive than the white man. The results given above show that although the differences in the means and medians of the two groups are extremely small, nevertheless the slight difference in ascendance favors the Negro.

There may be question regarding the validity of the test and the Allports frankly suggest its limitations. In any case the writer attempted a comparison between subjective estimates and the objective results of the test. Before the tests were made individual teachers were asked to rate the students to be tested in the order of their ascendance and submission. The average of the correlations showed a positive correlation of 36.5. One of the teachers ranked the fourteen she knew best and then the other fourteen, and it was found that her correlation was twice as high in the case of the best known students.

THE TENTH ANNUAL OHIO STATE EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

"Reaching the Individual" will be the keynote of the Tenth Annual Ohio State Educational Conference to be held in Columbus, April 3, 4, 5, 1930. President Robert M. Hutchins, of the University of Chicago, will speak at the Thursday night general session. More than one hundred speakers will participate in the Conference, at which a registration of over 5000 is expected. Visual education will be a new topic for which sectional meetings will be held.

GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, CITIZENSHIP

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspects of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF VOTING IN ST. LOUIS

RALPH AND MILDRED FLETCHER

THE 1928 election, spiced with religious controversy, fought over the air, contested by a magnetic personality, and decided by prosperity in favor of the candidate without an issue, is for the student of social forces the most interesting of recent elections. Two questions in particular were constantly speculated upon in pre-election articles, first, what would happen in the South in the face of conflicting traditions; and second, what was the possibility of the crystallization of an urban political self-consciousness. In a rough way the summarized returns have given partial answer to these and many other questions. Subjected to careful statistical analysis the election returns should shed considerable light upon the intensity of the social struggle and the exact nature of the new alignments.

The statistical study of political forces is comparatively an uninvestigated field. Dr. Stuart A. Rice has suggested a number of problems and means of approach to such problems in his recent book *Quantitative Methods in Politics*. It is the intention of this article to study the distribution of voting in St. Louis for the 1924 and 1928 elections with the following questions in mind: (1) What was the exact nature of the shift of political preference as expressed by the voting in the two elec-

tions? (2) Did the rather considerable change have any influence upon the type of curve yielded by the distribution of precinct votes? (3) Did the distribution for 1924 or 1928 indicate any pronounced bimodalism such as Dr. Rice considers to be indicative of "bossism" or machine voting?

The data used are the tabulated votes for the first presidential elector given by precincts in the Election Commissioners Office in St. Louis. The Democratic voting for 1924 was computed as a percentage of the total votes for the first elector on the Republican, Democratic, and LaFollette tickets in each precinct;¹ and for 1928 the Democratic voting was computed from the total votes cast for the Republican, Democratic, and Socialistic tickets.² Chart I gives the distribution of these percentages. The average precinct in 1924 cast 35.6 per cent of its total vote for Mr. Davis. The standard deviation for 1924 was 13.8 per cent. The average precinct in 1928 cast 52.0 per cent of its total votes for Mr. Smith with a standard deviation of 13.3 per cent. This great change in the

¹ The election returns for the 624 precincts in St. Louis in 1924 were Democratic 95,888; Republican 139,433; and LaFollette 28,758.

² In 1928, for 668 precincts Democratic 176,321; Republican 161,701; Socialist 945.

total results was accomplished with very little change in the general character of the distribution.

The geographic boundaries of the twenty-eight wards in St. Louis remained

and a correlation of the ranks by the formula

$$r = 1 - \frac{6 \sum d^2}{N(N^2 - 1)}$$

was computed.³ The lowness of this relationship [$+ .404$ or in terms of the coefficient of correlation $+ .420$] indicates the rather large degree of displacement in ward voting caused by the election of 1928.

Whether this displacement was influenced by racial or social conditions is hard to determine. The Globe Democratic Market Analysis for St. Louis⁴ considers wards 13, 21, and 28 as the best residential wards, 10, 11, 12, 22, 24, 25, 26, and 27 as good residential wards and 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, and 23 as poor residential wards. As can be seen from Table I there is no indication that the displacement was any greater in the better residential wards than in the lower residential wards. Likewise the same analysis ranks wards 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 16, 17, 19, and 23 as being below the city average of 77.6 per cent native white. Again there is no evidence that racial traits influenced the displacement in voting.

Dr. Rice in a similar study of Philadelphia discovered a very interesting bimodality in urban voting which he attributes to "bossism." Neither the 1924 nor the 1928 presidential elections in St. Louis gives any very pronounced bimodality. A slight peak is reached in both distributions prior to the actual mode but in neither case sufficiently large to represent a real indication of the "controlled votes" in St. Louis. The slight peak which does appear is probably due to precincts which are preponderantly Negro and in which the democratic trend

TABLE I
AVERAGE PERCENTAGE PRECINCT VOTE BY WARDS FOR
FIRST PRESIDENTIAL ELECTOR ON THE DEMOCRATIC
TICKET, ST. LOUIS, 1924 AND 1928

WARD	1928		1924		CHANGE IN PERCENT- AGE 1928-1924 (1) - (3)
	Average vote (1)	Rank (2)	Average vote (3)	Rank (4)	
1	49.4	19	29.3	23	10.1
2	53.1	12	30.9	21	22.2
3	67.6	1	48.7	3	18.9
4	63.9	3	55.9	2	8.0
5	46.3	25	32.6	19	13.7
6	41.1	28	18.1	28	23.0
7	57.6	6	38.4	12	19.2
8	60.5	5	32.8	17	27.7
9	64.3	2	30.8	22	33.5
10	54.0	10	20.1	27	33.9
11	55.4	8	59.0	1	-3.6
12	50.5	15	29.2	24	21.3
13	50.1	17	29.1	25	21.0
14	50.2	16	32.1	20	18.1
15	49.8	18	39.5	11	10.3
16	44.3	26	37.5	15	6.8
17	54.1	9	37.6	14	16.5
18	63.4	4	44.7	6	18.7
19	42.2	27	32.7	18	9.5
20	53.0	13	42.8	7	10.2
21	47.1	22.5	33.3	16	13.8
22	53.6	11	41.9	9	11.7
23	47.1	22.5	26.4	26	20.7
24	48.2	21	37.8	13	10.4
25	46.8	24	40.6	10	6.2
26	52.3	14	48.3	4	4.0
27	56.1	7	42.5	8	13.6
28	48.8	20	45.9	5	2.9
Average	52.0		35.6		16.5

the same in the 1928 election as they were in 1924. Table I gives the average percentage precinct vote for the first Democratic elector for each ward for the two elections. These wards were then ranked

³ G. I. Gavett, *A First Course in Statistical Method*, p. 243.

⁴ *The Forty-Ninth State Today*.

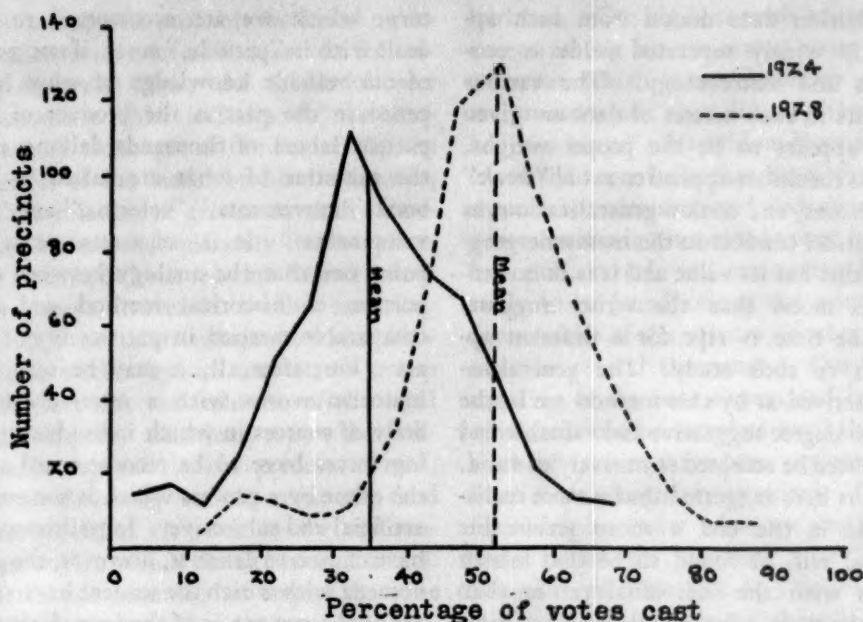


CHART I. DISTRIBUTION OF ELECTION PRECINCTS ACCORDING TO PERCENTAGE OF VOTES CAST FOR FIRST PRESIDENTIAL ELECTOR ON THE DEMOCRATIC TICKET, ST. LOUIS, 1924 AND 1928

from 1924 to 1928 was just as pronounced as in the other precincts.

To conclude, our study shows that the shifts in political preference for the Democratic party in the two elections was quite pronounced and resulted in considerable displacement in ward alignment. Des-

pite this there resulted very little change in the general type of distribution of precinct votes. Finally, St. Louis gives very little evidence of the bi-modalism which Dr. Rice found to be characteristic of the voting in Philadelphia.

POSSIBILITIES IN THE STUDY OF 'NEIGHBORHOOD' POLITICS

LANE W. LANCASTER

The treatment of problems of political behavior in the hands of modern students of politics has been characterized by an emphasis upon the activities of large bodies of voters. The formation and expression of what is loosely called public opinion has been treated generally as a function of an indefinite and ill-defined entity referred to as the "electorate" or the "public." Large bodies of voters such as, for example, those occupying a

state, a section, or even a whole nation, are taken in hand by the investigator and certain political motives are imputed to them on the basis of more or less elaborate analyses of election returns. As supporting evidence of what is supposed to be in the "public mind," it is the accepted fashion to quote widely from newspapers and other more or less fugitive sources. The investigators who adopt this general method often go far afield and lay under

contribution data drawn from such apparently widely separated fields as economics and meteorology.¹ The various elements in such masses of data are given what appears to be the proper weight, various checks are applied to avoid "freak" conclusions, and certain generalizations as to political conduct in the mass emerge.

All this has its value and it is in no censorious mood that the writer suggests that the time is ripe for a different approach to such study. The generalizations arrived at by this method are in the highest degree suggestive and valuable and must often be accepted tentatively as valid. But it is here suggested that a more realistic and in the end a more serviceable method will be found to be that which begins with the individual rather than with the mass. Perhaps the point of view here urged may be illustrated by an analogy. In books in general history we often come across such statements as: "General X threw an army into Y." From the point of view of our interest in results it is perhaps sufficient for us to know that the army finally got into Y. But if we wish to understand the process by which the occupation of Y was accomplished we shall have to pay far less attention to General X in his converted chateau ten miles in the rear and far more attention to humble folk such as lieutenants, corporals, and private soldiers in the filth of the trenches, and to the thousands of individually petty arrangements involved in the process.

It is an easy, and often an excusable, device to concentrate attention upon the whole process and to forget the myriad details which are the heart of it. But it may be said that even in the field of his-

tory, which we are accustomed to see dealt with in "periods," much, if not most, of our reliable knowledge of what happened in the past is the product of the patient labors of thousands delving into the minutiae of what are called in the books "movements," "reforms," and "developments." It is, of course, easy to point out that the analogy between this portion of historical method and any comparable method in politics is not exact. For, after all, it may be said, the historian works with a relatively fixed body of sources in which individual moving forces have to be reconstructed after the event by a process which is somewhat artificial and subjective. In politics as we have chosen to define it, however, the phenomena with which the student has to deal are of the present or of the immediate past and are instinct with the variety of individual and group life. All sciences, however, have their limitations and the fact that these are apparently greater in the case of the social sciences does not absolve political scientists from the obligation of working out and using the promising method applicable to their own province. What is the most promising method of study and what valuable results does it promise?

It is the simple thesis of this paper that the significant part of the political process will be observed in the minute portions of it and not in the process "viewed as a whole," and that the chief contributions of the future will be made as a result of studies of these small portions. Indeed in any proper sense it is impossible to view the process "as a whole." We shall have to await the labors of a generation of researchers and trained observers to give us our data and the arrival of a few capacious intellects to do our valid generalizing.

Any given political situation, such as an election campaign or the passage of

¹ See e.g., Viva B. Boothe, *The Political Party as a Social Process* (1923); J. D. Barnhart, "Rainfall and the Populist Party in Nebraska," *Amer. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, Aug., 1925, XIX: 527-540.

legislation, will probably be found on inspection to consist of at least the following elements: First, the leader-follower relationship which includes: (a) the character and technique of the leader; (b) the relation of the leader to his lieutenants; (c) the relation of groups to their immediate leaders and mediately to the principal leaders; (d) the relation between various groups interested in the situation; and (e) the relationships between individuals within groups and across group lines. Second, the influence of the legal and customary machinery upon the individuals engaged in the process. Third, the conditioning social, economic, and socio-psychical elements in the environment within which the situation is found.

It is not intended to imply that the political process has not yet been approached from this general point of view. It is simply suggested that more studies of the intricate patterns of political situations are needed for the valid generalizations of which the political science of the future will be compact. Indeed considerable progress is being made in studying the vitals of the thing we call "politics." Largely under the impetus of Professor Merriam's suggestions we are commencing to collect the data needed for an understanding of the "boss."² What we still need in this connection is more studies of "little" bosses. Studies of Platt and Croker and Hill suffer from the limitations imposed by a study of all large-scale phenomena. The study of the boss, it is ventured, will disclose the fact that his power rests largely upon the establishment of numerous primary personal contacts with his retainers. These contacts are far closer in the case of the "little" bosses engrossed in the petty business of the "peanut" politics of the neigh-

borhood. The big boss tends to cultivate except among his intimates, some of the isolation which seems necessary to the maintenance of "that divinity that doth hedge a king." He seldom lives in reality in the fierce light that beats about the throne, but sits sheltered and above, the generalissimo in his moated tower.³ There is a rich, varied, and interesting field of study to be found among the county and town bosses of the country of whom there must be several thousands.⁴ Our understanding of the boss system and its technique will not be complete until the labyrinth of relationships here suggested has been more adequately explored. Do we, for example, know what we are talking about when we prophesy that "Boss" So-and-so will be able to "deliver" the Polish vote? In fact, is there a Polish vote, about which journalists and others talk so glibly? Precisely what are the methods by which "Tony" Lombardo contrives to rule the "north end" and "Mike" Connor holds the "east side" in the hollow of his calloused hand? Not only will the authentic flavor of American politics be better understood as a result of such studies but we shall have a body of scientific data upon which we may with better assurance predicate our conclusions.

On the side of machinery, a great deal more attention might well be paid to the actual working of such devices as town and precinct committees. This would involve actual attendance at their meetings and the systematic collection of reports of their transactions. (Such committees usually welcome the addition of such "high-toned" members as college and uni-

² See the suggestive account of Croker's relations to his followers in William Allen White's *Masks in a Pageant*, p. 25-6.

⁴ See an interesting article by Hamilton Owens, "The County Boss," in *The American Mercury*, May 1929, XVII: 70-74.

³ The first of these studies was H. F. Gosnell's *Boss Platt and his New York Machine*.

versity instructors and it ought not to be hard to gain access to the inner circle.) The "follow-up" would involve frequent contacts with the individual members of such committees at their places of business and recreation. It would involve further a certain amount of discreet "snooping" to learn of their private and business commitments to people within and outside their own circle. In short, it would involve steeping oneself in the personal and political gossip of the neighborhood. But it would enable the workers in the field to reconstruct a realistic picture of what is usually referred to in the question-begging phrase as the "political process." Close observation of the sort suggested will show, I think, that the town committee is in most cases only the center of a tangled set of human relationships which involve whole towns and cities and which in the aggregate touch enough people to turn an election.

As a further example of a field of productive study, what is the relation between the party leadership and what the sociologists call the neighborhood? Why does it happen, for instance, that in the author's own town there persist several distinct "neighborhoods" not coterminous with legal boundaries such as wards but which are pretty definitely predictable politically? What is the nature of the process by which each of these "neighborhoods" has usually maintained its definite partisanship? Granting that the strength of the "organization" is based upon the existence of a feudal relationship between the leader and his retainers, what is the exact process by which such leaders maintain their dominance? Any student of the politics of the "neighborhood" knows several of these "little" bosses whose careers offer as much interest as that of a Penrose or a Platt. Their manoeuvres are not executed in the grand manner of the

great panjandrums but it would seem well within the truth to say that the process by which men's minds are given a partisan bent takes place in the more fundamental sense far oftener in poorly-appointed pool-rooms, tobacco shops, and groceries than in the Biltmore or the Blackstone. The real laboratory of vital politics is not the columns of the metropolitan press but is wherever the "boys" foregather.

Finally, what do we know about the vital minutiae of the conduct of a campaign? No one who has sat in on the conferences of the "boys" in the days preceding an election has failed to note that much goes on which does not get into our books. How effective are the various sorts of political appeal? How is the vote actually got out? How is a ticket actually picked? How much money is actually spent and how? Is a racial or sectional vote really deliverable? We need more special studies of the actual conduct of a campaign such as Dr. Woody has given us in his account of the Chicago primary of 1926. The political life of the community needs to be subjected to the same sort of microscopic analysis as the Lynds brought to the study of "Middle-town."

The questions here raised the writer does not pretend to be able to answer out of his own experience. But all of them can at least be attempted. There is an opportunity here for the accumulation of a vast amount of data bearing upon the vital question of the formation and expression of "public opinion" on the stage where men come into close personal contact. This is the heart of the "political process" and in fact the only part of what we call "politics" which really matters. Whether a philosopher will arise capable of making head or tail out of such material may be open to question. But it is data which we must have if our books are to be redeemed.

SOCIAL INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE IN ENGLAND TODAY

HELEN LELAND WITMER

FOR nine years there have been at least a million unemployed workers in England, ten per cent of her working population, and the situation has become one of prime political importance. In the recent General Election the Liberal Party advertised widely a scheme for the relief of unemployment, the carrying out of which the country has entrusted to the Labour Party. Since the Liberal and Labour plans were so similar (all through the campaign Labour candidates could say only that the Liberals had stolen their scheme) it seems likely that the two parties will cooperate on at least this score and that the country will be expecting the fulfillment of Lloyd George's pledge of unemployment cured within a year.

The new government has already in the summer session set forth definite measures: industry is to be stimulated; public works are to be undertaken at home and abroad; government grants are to be given to certain public utility corporations; the 1924 housing subsidy is to be renewed. Two bills have already been passed providing for colonial development and for subsidies to certain domestic industries. The school-leaving age has been raised to fifteen years. So far the only serious opposition has come from within the Labour Party itself: the Left

under Maxton has said that it will cooperate only if the system of unemployment relief is improved. It seems unlikely that any radical changes in the unemployment insurance system are being contemplated by the Labour government, but in view of this challenge from within the party the following account of the present status of unemployment insurance may be of interest.

In April, 1928, England's eighteenth unemployment insurance act came into force, and, broadly speaking, twelve million workers became entitled as of right to unemployment benefit as long as they should be out of work. There are important qualifications to be made to that statement, qualifications which caused the Labour Party at the time to denounce the act as a piece of rank Toryism, but the fact that it was a product of the Baldwin government shows how widely the unemployment insurance principle is accepted in England today. To understand this present act it is necessary to recall briefly some of the more important of the earlier acts and the economic situation which produced them, for measures which were originally designed to meet the extraordinary situation which the post-war depression produced are now accepted as fundamental principles. The depression

provided a necessity for experimentation, and the act apparently sums up the Tory conclusions on the matter.

The early history of unemployment insurance in Great Britain is well-known to all who are interested in the subject. In 1908, when the first old-age pension bill was passed, Lloyd-George promised that the state should soon care for its sick and its unemployed as well, and in 1911 his Government proposed its great National Insurance scheme, under which the health of many workers and the loss of work of a few were cared for by a system of compulsory, contributory insurance. The unemployment part of the scheme was frankly experimental and was limited to the two and a half million workers in several trades—building, shipbuilding, mechanical engineering, iron founding, construction of vehicles, and sawmilling—in which the risk of unemployment was most grave.

One week's benefit was paid for every five contributions, and not more than fifteen weeks' benefit was permitted in any period of twelve months. Payments did not start until January, 1913, so the scheme was only fairly under way when the war with its prosperity and low unemployment commenced. The balances in the Unemployment Insurance Fund grew from £1,648,907 at the end of 1913 to £21,325,568 in November, 1920. Thus the scheme appeared to be highly successful. In 1916 a million and a half munition workers had been added to the group of insured, for it was clear that their risk of unemployment would be great once the war was over. When the Armistice came the Government met the unemployment situation by a system of out-of-work-donation policies, which practically superseded unemployment insurance benefits for a year. Severe unemployment lasted, however, only a short time; prosperity

seemed about to set in once more; and in this hopeful atmosphere the great Unemployment Insurance Act of 1920 with its eleven and a half million insured was launched.

Looking back on it now, it is easy to see that unemployment insurance had never been really put to the test and that the optimism inspired by the huge balances was unwarranted. Unemployment averaged only about three per cent in 1912 and 1913 and fell as low as 0.5 per cent during the war, while six or seven per cent was to have been expected had there been any period of economic stress. Then adding seven million more workers to the Fund on the expectation that such a situation would last until they could pile up their own reserves appears now to have been unwarranted considering the precarious economic state of all Europe. As it turned out, the Act was not in force a month before the crash came. Three and a half per cent of the insured work people were unemployed in November, 1920. In the months following the percentages mounted: eight, eleven, thirteen, fifteen, twenty, twenty-three, twenty-two, from which point they slid down to about ten by the end of 1923, where, with some slight fluctuations, they have stayed ever since. Ten per cent means about 1,200,000 people out of work. When one realizes that this has now been the situation in England for nearly nine years it becomes clear why some national scheme for their financial assistance has become a fundamental part of British economic thought.

The Unemployment Insurance Act of 1920 followed quite closely the lines of its predecessors but provided for the insurance of practically all manual workers, with the exception of those in agriculture and of domestic servants, and of all others receiving a remuneration of less than £250 a year. Weekly contributions for men

were raised from two and a half to four pence, and benefits from seven to fifteen shillings a week. (The contributions and benefits for women, boys, and girls were lower.) Twelve contributions had to be made before a worker was eligible for benefit, and then one week's benefit was granted for every six contributions paid. This act went into effect on November 8, 1920. Within six weeks the industrial situation of the country was so bad that an amending act was passed to lighten the conditions for the receipt of benefit. Unemployment grew worse, poverty became intense, and during the next six years Parliament experimented in twelve different acts with varying ways of relieving the distress through unemployment insurance. Out of this experimentation came the present act, the Conservative Party's version, at least, of what features have proved most successful.

Through these twelve acts three main changes took place in British unemployment insurance theory, changes which were regarded at the time as being temporary, the result of abnormal conditions, but which, for the most part, have now been written into what appears to be permanent law. One of these was the granting of allowances for dependents—five shillings a week for a dependent wife or husband and two shillings for each dependent child. To this departure from the theory of flat rates and flat benefits few objections were raised. The widespread poverty had to be relieved in some way.

Another change was a considerable increase in the size of the weekly contributions payable by all three parties: ten pence a week for adult male workers until 1925, when it was reduced to eight pence. The flat rate of contribution and benefit for all, regardless of the risk of unemployment in the industry insured, had been justi-

fied originally by the fact that the rates were low. This increase, occasioned by the dependents' benefits and, especially, by the "extended benefits, of which we shall speak next, was probably necessary, but it has aroused considerable antagonism to unemployment insurance among both employers and employees in stable industries.

The most revolutionary change was that of "extended benefits," more commonly known as the dole. Originally, benefit was granted only after an applicant had proved that he had paid not less than twelve contributions to the Fund; that he was capable of and available for work but unable to obtain suitable employment; and that he had not exhausted his right to benefit—that is, he had not received more than one week's benefit for each six contributions paid and not more than fifteen weeks' benefit during the past twelve months. These, the so-called statutory conditions fulfilled, he was eligible for what was later known as "standard benefit." As a means of relieving the distress caused by the great unemployment that followed the passage of the 1920 Act it became clear that such limited benefits were nearly useless. So, by one act after another, the conditions were relaxed. The one-in-six rule was waived. The fifteen-weeks-a-year rule was changed again and again until finally the time limit was abolished entirely. Such benefit beyond that granted under the statutory conditions was called extended benefit. It was never, except for one period in 1924, the right of any contributor but a privilege granted at the discretion of the Minister of Labour whenever he thought it "expedient in the public interest."

There has been an impression current in America that this unemployment insurance scheme with its extended benefits has so amply supported men and women in idleness that they have refused to work,

to the consequent ruin of England's industries. There seems to be little basis for such a conclusion. In the first place, it must be remembered that the workers themselves bear more than a third of the cost and that since 1922 the normal contributions of workers, employers, and the state have been sufficient to pay all the benefits—with the exception of the year 1926, when the great strike brought unprecedented distress.

Then, too, a worker does not have a free choice between working or being supported by unemployment benefit, as this criticism implies. All persons out of work must register at an employment exchange and accept a job when one in their own trade is offered to them. (To this condition there are certain safeguards for the worker which prevent his being forced to take work at lower pay or poorer conditions than those generally prevailing in an industry.) If they exhausted their right to standard benefit, they had to comply with more rigorous conditions before receiving extended benefit. The Blanesburgh Committee, which reviewed the whole problem of unemployment insurance in 1927, came to the conclusion that while a certain number of persons received relief to which they had no claim, such cases were extremely rare, and that the Ministry of Labour had a very effective system for guarding against abuse.¹

Another fact often lost sight of by critics of unemployment insurance, is the size of the benefit. \$4.50 a week for a single adult man, \$5.75 for a married man with a dependent wife, and fifty cents additional for each dependent child is scarcely sufficient inducement to many men to refuse work, even at the rather low level of English wages.

Then too the extent of unemployment

was such that something had to be done to aid those out of work. Had there been no unemployment insurance the burden on public and private charity would have been enormous. As it is, the number of able-bodied men given public poor relief on account of unemployment far surpasses that of any period in the last hundred years. In the three and a half years preceding April, 1927, ten per cent of the men drawing unemployment benefit at that date had been out of work at least sixty per cent of the time.² Unemployment insurance, through its system of extended benefits, has been the means of spreading to all classes and all sections of the country the financial burden of aiding the unemployed.

The acts by which these changes in unemployment insurance principles were made were of a temporary nature, designed to meet a condition of affairs which everybody hoped would not last long. But the situation did not improve greatly, and at the end of 1925 the Blanesburgh Committee was appointed to review the workings of the whole system and to suggest what more permanent form it should take. The Committee reported early in 1927, and it is upon its recommendations that the new Act is largely based.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the 1928 Act is that it gives to every genuinely unemployed insured person benefit as of right as long as he is out of work. Extended benefit is a term no longer used; there is no longer ministerial discretion to decide who should and who should not receive benefit after a certain period. Thus another step has been taken toward completely covering every risk of unemployment.

To carry out such a scheme satisfactor-

¹ *Report of the Unemployment Insurance Committee*, I, 20 and 21 (1927).

² *Report on an Investigation into the Personal Circumstances and Industrial History of 9,748 Claimants to Unemployment Benefit*, April 4-9, 1927, p. 47 (1928).

ily it is clear that there must be very definite tests as to genuineness of unemployment and of right to benefit, nor is it surprising that over the definition of such tests the greatest disputes should have arisen between the political parties. As the law now stands, the first condition for the receipt of benefit is that not less than thirty contributions should have been paid during the two years immediately preceding the date of application for benefit. Around this test the storm of Parliamentary debate raged most violently, the Labour Party claiming that such a restriction would throw out of benefit and on to the Poor Law just those persons who stood most in need of benefit and were least to blame for being out of work. A white paper issued by the Government admitted that there would have been 100,000 persons unable to fulfill that condition in April, 1927, but it claimed that the number would be greatly reduced by the time the Act came into full effect. For there was a clause delaying the enforcement of the thirty-contributions rule until April, 1929. As matters turned out, conditions did not improve, and the rule is not yet in force.

The second condition requires that the insured person shall apply for benefit in the prescribed manner (register at the Employment Exchange and give such information as is required) and shall prove that since the date of application he has been continuously unemployed. Further conditions require that he is capable of and available for work; that he is genuinely seeking work but unable to find suitable employment; that, if it is required, he will attend an approved course of instruction.

In the past it has frequently proved difficult to determine what is suitable employment. Workers have been safeguarded by the provision that they need not accept

jobs outside their usual occupation or at wages lower or conditions less favorable than those generally prevailing in their industry. This worked well enough when benefits were limited to a set number of weeks in a year, but it was a constant source of irritation to employment exchange executives when they could be continued indefinitely. With the new law removing even the ministerial discretion on the granting of extended benefits, it became necessary to devise some check on men who kept on refusing work outside their accustomed occupation. So the law now contains a provision that after a reasonable interval a claimant may be required, as a condition of receiving benefit, to seek and accept work of a kind other than his usual employment, provided that the wages and conditions there are not below the level set by trade agreements. To an outsider this provision seems to hold out great possibilities for relieving the overmanned industries, but many people in England are fearful of what injustices may be done under its cover. It is probable also that a wide system of training centers will be necessary before this provision can be very effective. There are already the beginnings of such a system for the training of juveniles, and the Labour Party claimed during the debates that the new Act was departing from the spirit of the Blanesburgh Committee in not paying more attention to the furthering of such centers.

The scale of contributions and benefits was another subject about which the debate grew heated. The Blanesburgh Committee found a rather widespread conviction that young workers were being demoralized under a system which gave them money instead of work. It recommended accordingly that workers between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one

should receive lower benefits than older workers: ten shillings a week for the young men instead of the eighteen shillings they were receiving, and eight shillings for the young women. This raised a storm of Labour protest: what man or woman, said they, could exist decently on such allowances? As a result, the new law states that they are to receive ten and eight shillings, respectively, at the age of eighteen, with a two-shilling increase for each year up to twenty-one. Contribution rates remain practically the same as under the old law (except that this class of young people pay less), and they are to be lowered when the Unemployment Fund is considered solvent. The present rates of contributions and benefits are as follows:

CLASS OF EMPLOYED PERSONS	CONTRIBUTIONS PER WEEK IN PENCE*			BENE- FITS PER WEEK IN SHIL- LINGS
	Employer	Employee	State	
Men, aged 21 to 65.....	8	7	6	17
Women, aged 21 to 65.....	7	6	4.50	15
Men, aged 18 to 20.....	7	6	5.25	10-14
Women, aged 18 to 20.....	6	5	3.75	8-12
Boys, aged 16 and 17.....	4	3.5	3	6
Girls, aged 16 and 17.....	3.50	3	2.25	5
Dependents benefit:				
Adults.....				7
Each dependent child.....				2

* According to a law passed July, 1929, the contributions of the state are to be equal to one-half the combined contributions of the other two parties.

If men and women between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one are in receipt of dependents' benefits they are granted the same amount of benefit for themselves as are the older men and women. By these new rates single men, boys, and girls receive a shilling less a week than formerly, while the allowance for an adult dependent is increased by two shillings. The principle of dependents' benefits is thus

retained and made a bit more important. Since the passage of the Contributory Old Age Pensions Act persons over sixty-five do not receive unemployment benefits, although, in order not to encourage employers to hire them instead of younger persons, their employers and the state must make the usual weekly contributions for them.

There was a great deal of speculation as to whether the new act is actuarially sound. It is based on the assumption that unemployment will average six per cent over the trade cycle. Since unemployment had rarely dropped below ten per cent in any month of the eight years preceeding the Act and there were few signs of an industrial revival, opponents of the Act considered such optimism entirely unjustified.

The Act went into effect on April 19, 1928. Since that time unemployment has been somewhat higher than during the preceding few years, but the number of unemployed relieved by the Poor Law has dropped from 100,000 in February, 1928, the level at which it had stood during the preceding year, to 75,000 in February, 1929. This is about the only objective datum available to show the effect of the new law, but, although there are other circumstances which account for part of the decrease, it does seem to indicate that a larger proportion of the unemployed are now being cared for by the insurance scheme than formerly. On the other hand, conditions in several important areas, especially the mining section, are still very bad; there have been special relief funds raised during the past year for the assistance of workers there; and the warnings of the Left probably reflect these needs. It will be of importance to students of the unemployment situation not to overlook, in the rush of new proposals for increasing employment, what the Labour Government may do during the following months with the unemployment insurance system.

LIBRARY AND WORKSHOP

Special Book Reviews by L. L. BERNARD, ERNEST R. GROVES, HARRY ELMER BARNES, FRANK H. HANKINS, CLARK WISSLER, PHILLIPS BRADLEY, FLOYD N. HOUSE, MALCOLM WILLIHY, AND OTHERS

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SEEKING THE HUMAN PERSPECTIVE

L. L. BERNARD

- FOUNDERS OF THE MIDDLE AGES. By Edward Kennard Rand. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928. xii + 365 pp. \$4.00.
- THOMAS AQUINAS. By Dr. Martin Grabmann. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1928. xii + 191 pp. \$2.50.
- LA DOCTRINE POLITIQUE DE SAINT THOMAS D'AQUIN. By Bernard Roland-Gosselin. Paris: Marcel Riviere, 1928. xii + 168. pp. Fr. 8.
- THREE REFORMERS: LUTHER, DESCARTES, ROUSSEAU. By Jacques Maritain. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1929. v + 234 pp. \$2.50.
- YOUNG LUTHER. By Robt. H. Fife. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928. 232 pp. \$2.00.
- BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS. By Marcel Brion. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co. 1929. xvii + 314 pp.
- THE HEROIC LIFE OF ST. VINCENT DE PAUL. By Henri Lavedan. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1929. v + 279 pp. \$2.50.
- THE PHILOSOPHY OF SPINOZA. By Richard McKeon. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1928. ix + 345 pp. \$5.00.
- HENRI BERGSON. By Jacques Chevalier. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928. xxiii + 351 pp. \$2.50.
- THE ESSENTIALS OF EASTERN PHILOSOPHY. By Prabhu Dutt Shastri. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928. xiii + 104 pp. \$1.60.
- MACHIAVEL. By Orestes Ferrara. Paris: Honoré Champion, 1928. viii + 371 pp.
- THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF JUAN DE MARIANA. By John Laures. New York: Fordham University Press, 1928. xiv + 319 pp. \$3.00.
- ROUSSEAU ET L'ENCYCLOPÉDIE. By René Huber. Paris: J. Gamber, Editeur. 137 pp.
- KARL MARX. By Otto Rühle. New York: Viking Press, 1929. vi + 419 pp. \$5.00.
- INTIMATE LETTERS OF CARL SCHURZ, 1841-1869. Edited by Joseph Schafer. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1928. xxiii + 491 pp.
- TOLSTOY AND NIETZSCHE. By Helen E. Davis. New York: New Republic, 1929. xiv + 271 pp. \$1.00.
- THE SAINT-SIMONIAN RELIGION IN GERMANY. By E. M. Butler. Cambridge: University Press, 1926. xii + 446 pp.
- FRENCH LIBERAL THOUGHT IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By Kingsley Martin. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1929. xviii + 313 pp. \$4.50.
- THE MAKING OF THE MODERN MIND. By John H. Randall, Jr. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1926. x + 653 pp.
- HISTORICAL READINGS IN NINETEENTH CENTURY THOUGHT. By W. P. Hall and E. A. Beller. New York: Century Co., 1928. v + 306 pp. \$1.75.

II

Dante and Aquinas were the men mainly responsible for this wider view of things. They lived in the day of universals. Two recent works on the latter—Grabmann's *Thomas Aquinas* and Roland-Gosselin's *Doctrine Politique*—give us adequate accounts of the development of ideas of the great philosopher-theologian. The former work offers a sketch of his life, very revealing in its account of his academic struggles and of the circumstances leading to his conclusions, as well as of his personality. Academic life then, even within the church, was much like our own. His emphasis upon the necessity of proving what is accepted as an article of faith is refreshing. The second work traces the theory of natural law and of natural right from the Greeks to the time of Aquinas and then presents an analysis of the latter's application of the theory to an exposition of the nature and functions of the state, the role of the king, civic duty, and property. Back of the human order is the natural order, and back of the natural order is God, and the final interpreter of all, on earth, is the church. Here we find an early formulation of the present-day catholic theory of the supremacy of the church over the state. And why not? Was not Aquinas seeking (and finding) universal principles, good for all time?

Such certainly is the view taken by Maritain in his *Three Reformers*, who are Luther, Descartes, and Rousseau. These three men, he says, rule the world today, and to them also is to be traced its evils. It was they who unsettled this system of universals so nicely worked out by Saint Thomas. Once they were good Catholics. They were restless. Their intellects were of the type that see particulars better than universals, hence they were better in criticism than in construction. They meant

I

A Harvard professor of Latin has used his knowledge of this language to open up to those less well favored the fundamental trends in the thought of the middle ages through his *Founders of the Middle Ages*. The Church had been opposed to the pagan philosophers on principle and by prejudice, but gradually a group of scholars arose within the church—Ambrose, Jerome, Boethius, Augustine, Dante, St. Thomas—who absorbed the Greek and Roman personal and social philosophy, especially of Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero. All through the first thousand years A.D. Cicero was a powerful factor, giving way in part finally to Aristotle, especially when the development of the church came to demand a universal political theory in place of the narrower personal ethics of the Roman sage. The story is an interesting one and brings into light one of the obscurest epochs in the history of thought. How closely the type of philosophy corresponds to the needs of the times, however much it may be refracted through prevailing dogmas!

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well, too, but that is no guarantee of wisdom. Luther was emotional, and his search for truth ended in self-indulgence. Descartes exalted the reason beyond its province and it led him astray. Rousseau, in his struggle for justice, sought authority and social control where it could not be found. The rest of the world has followed more or less blindly after these blind leaders of the blind. Ah! what faith and what certainty in himself must one have who writes such a book.

Fife, the author of *Young Luther*, takes a different view of the matter, at least as regards the precipitator of the Protestant Reformation. The root of Luther's difficulty was at least as much an intellectual as an emotional one. Even in his student days he could not abide the scholastic method. As a teacher he began to present theses for disputation. It would seem, therefore, that he almost as much as Descartes was the victim of his faith in human reason. These intellectual struggles influenced his personality, naturally warmly ethical in character and responsive to intrinsic values rather than to extrinsic considerations of policy. The author traces the development of his thought through his early writings on Augustine, the Psalms, and the Romans, and there he leaves him.

III

Maritain's characterization of the "three reformers" as more suited intellectually to particularistic criticism and reform than to the discovery and high minded contemplation of universals leads me by contrasuggestion to two other great reformers who were always good Catholics. Brion's *Bartolomé de las Casas* is an excellent account of this great man who dared oppose the whole Spanish hierarchy, including the government, in his fight for the rights (natural and human) of the

Indians who were being despoiled by the conquistadores, as often as not in the name of the Church. Although primarily a man of action, he wrote treatises too in the approved style, with all the trimmings about natural law and the other things of which St. Thomas would have approved. But he wrote not for the vain show of learning, but to convince king, pope, and fellow churchmen that human rights—even those of pagans—are superior to all the dogmas and hypocrisies of greed in the world. If he failed—and he did fail—it was not that his cause was a poor one, but rather that (shall we say it) the faith of his hearers in his logic and in his universals was less strong than in the particular interests that moved them. Another great and good reformer, a lover of men and a hater of mere logic without the virtue of achievement, was *St. Vincent de Paul*. Henri Lavedan's life of this man, who wrote his theories in institutions and in good deeds, is peculiarly simple, sympathetic, and penetrating. Social workers have always found this story inspiring.

IV

Turning back to the fundamentalists and the universalists, *The Philosophy of Spinoza*, by McKeon, falls under our eyes, and with him a more modern witness of the inner truth, *Henri Bergson*, whose philosophy is here exposed by a warm admirer, Jacques Chevalier. As different as these men were in their power to express their thoughts (the power being perhaps somewhat inversely proportional to the depth of the thought), fundamentally they have much in common. They were both subjectivists, and somewhat mystics, measuring all truth and moral values by self-consciousness and self-interest. The good life is the standard for both, but it cannot be obtained without knowledge. For Spinoza, the essence of the necessary

knowledge is the understanding of God, which can be attained only through an intimate understanding of self. For Bergson also, the understanding of all things must come through the realization of self, and this is to be primarily through intuition. One could scarcely expect that these two men would have social theories worth speaking of. They were not interested in the particularisms of life out of which a science of society—a science of any thing in fact—must be built inductively. They were looking for universals, seeking to draw them down from heaven perhaps by the deductive method.

From far away India—another home of universals—comes a peculiarly kindred voice, that of Prabhu Dutt Shastri, speaking through *The Essentials of Eastern Philosophy*. To him also truth comes from within; it must be felt, is intuitive. The west overemphasizes the intellect and the definition of concepts and methodology. He frankly admits that oriental philosophy is mystical: so are all great philosophies. In the second part of his book he explains the various systems of philosophy in India. Here also we find no social philosophy worth mentioning. Are not social matters—human problems—but ephemeral, merely tangential to the great universal, eternal truths, that must be sought in Scholastic discussion?

V

It is something of a relief to come to the realists. Despite the heavy charge that their particularism brought evil into a well ordered metaphysical world, they at least have the merit of living in a real instead of a shadow world. But it was not always a happy experience. Here is *Machiavelli*, for example, interpreted by Ferrara, the Cuban ambassador to the United States. It is a good book, the best I know on Machiavelli. Ferrara un-

derstands his fellow countryman (the author is an Italian immigrant to Cuba), as indeed there is just now much opportunity for such understanding in Italy. He also has a long chapter dealing with the history of interpretations and opinions regarding Machiavelli—very interesting—as well as chapters on the development, public, literary, and military services of the man, and many more. The greatness of Machiavelli was that he was perhaps not very great at all. While other men acted out the principles he recorded, he wrote them down instead. A later age, more moral and somewhat blind (for they cannot see their own politicians, bandits, and rulers clearly) condemn him for the faithful picture he painted. The men who acted, but did not write, are forgotten. *Juan de Mariana*, for whom John Laures of Jochi University, Tokio, is interpreter, was possibly less of a realist, certainly less naïvely so. Yet he also suffered condemnation and even the condemnation of silence, because he dared to say that the regicide had a function in a world where kings were absolute and deaf to conscience and right. That of course was his world. He believed, in sixteenth century Spain, that democracy is the most natural form of government. Natural law and human liberty are the criteria of a good social order. This great Jesuit thinker had advanced far enough beyond Scholasticism to make use of the historical method in his economic studies.

Hubert's purpose in *Rousseau and the Encyclopaedia* is not to give an exposition of the ideas of this dangerous realist, but to trace their evolution and sources. It is an essay in the higher criticism. He finds that Rousseau's fundamental political and social ideas were largely integrated after he arrived in Paris in 1741, where he knew Diderot and Condillac intimately. His three great social works represent the

evolution of his thought from pessimistic disillusionment toward a sane confidence in progress. The *Discourse on Inequality* marks the stage of pessimism, but the *Social Contract* shows how reason comes into the social process to provide for reconstruction. His *Civil Religion* is the capstone of his theory, for here one finds the nonmystical sanction that is to make reason effective. More disturbing still, perhaps, was the realism of *Karl Marx*. Otto Rühle has made a beautiful—intellectually, I mean—book out of his subject. It is live, sincere, and enthusiastic. One may or may not accept the theories of Marx. At least he was a storm center in one of the most striking intellectual struggles of our times. He was the thought leader of a class of people who were just then coming into intellectual emancipation. The commission was not an easy one, but it was carried through with much skill and generalship. Karl Marx will not soon be forgotten, by friend or foe. Rühle has told his story with rare insight, one might say with dramatic force. One of his strongest claims to dramatic recognition is that he can handle a stage large enough to accommodate the contemporaries of Marx and he is enough of a dramatist to give them a part in the play. Here they are, these mild warriors of a new religion of humanity, toiling through the story, and with their pictures (good copperplates) in the book.

The *Intimate Letters of Carl Schurz* tell another story, also of the struggle of a German liberal in the fight for human advance, as he saw it. But the stage is the United States, and after all much of his energy went for merely ephemeral politics. But the letters are good for one thing at least. Schurz is almost forgotten today. It is well that, while still there is a memory of him and what he stood for, we should have these intimate pictures of

his personality, of his family affections, and of his world as he saw it. *Tolstoy and Nietzsche*, by Miss Davis, is rather an unusual book. Perhaps it is more of a study in abnormal psychology than of social theory. It has a psycho-analytical trend, since it explains the theories of these two men as compensations. Tolstoy was so much a pacifist because he was by nature so self-assertive and Nietzsche, the mild, paid his due to the devil by preaching force and the superman. I have my doubts, a little, about all this simplicity, but I am not going to start an argument. Of course there are other things in the book that some readers may like better. The justification urged for the book is that it holds the mirror of nature up to the patterns of behavior for him to see and profit who will, but there is no preachment.

VI

Let us now pass from men to movements, but still keep on the track of the realists—those men who have caused so much trouble in the modern world. First is *The Saint-Simonian Religion in Germany*, by E. M. Butler, a Cambridge Fellow. It turns out to be a study of the "Young German Movement" of that day, which perhaps was not so different from the "German Youth Movement" of our time. Only it was not very popular. These men—Heine, Wienbarg, Mundt, Laube, and their associates—following Enfantin (the leader of Saint-Simonianism in France) in the condemnation of romanticism and in the exaltation of the religion of the senses, would do away with traditional Christianity and the institution of marriage. But they only battered out their own poor brains against the stone wall of the past—and the present. In fact, only Heine escaped neurotic or psychotic disintegration, and physical de-

generation overtook him. But the author thinks they had an influence on their future—our present—although a slowly leavening one. They rejected feminism and socialism and ignored industrialism. Poor prophets, they! A better subject—and a more discerning author, too—are to be found in *French Liberal Thought in the Eighteenth Century* and in Kingsley Martin, also sometime a Cambridge Fellow. This is a very able book. It has really great insight into what was happening in the minds of Frenchmen "from Bayle to Condorcet" in the eighteenth century. We have already spoken of how the realists—those men who, according to Maritain, had minds more capable of picking quarrels with things as they are in the concrete and in the particular than of seeing the great universal principles that hold themselves aloof from the ordinary interests of mankind—were making trouble with the order that was. Our author shows how they began in the renaissance to react against other-worldiness and the doctrine of natural depravity and to set up in their place a doctrine of natural goodness and the duty of living joyfully in this world. By the eighteenth century these ideas were in full swing in France. Perhaps this is what afflicted the Saint-Simonians in Germany, for Germany was so backward then that French eighteenth century ideas did not get into Germany until the nineteenth century. But by this time the French were abandoning their old hedonistic theories and were developing a third school of philosophy and a creed to correspond; at least the encyclopaedists were. This was positivism, or the theory of a constructive democracy to be achieved by an inductive, scientific study of the facts of human association. It is this story of how the scientific view arose and became connected with the democratic movement that this book tells, and tells so well.

VII

But such a radical change in human thinking and planning did not, of course, arise without antecedents. Such antecedents may be found on the whole excellently assembled in Randall's *The Making of the Modern Mind*. This is a sort of history of thought and it begins with the intellectual outlook of mediaeval Christendom, where it tarries for five chapters. The new world of the renaissance and the period of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries also each have five chapters. To the thought and aspiration of the last hundred years seven chapters are devoted. This book also has insight, which renders it an excellent guide to the human perspective. *Historical Readings in Nineteenth Century Thought* is likewise a text book, but it adds nothing to the values of the previous volume, except that it presents extended and important selections from the writings of Huxley, Spencer, Marx, Kropotkin, Tolstoy, and Leo XIII, the last being the famous pronouncement on labor. It is significant that five of these six extracts are from the social sciences.

VIII

Engelmann's *Political Philosophy* is an attempt to trace the theory of the state from the Greeks to the beginnings of the nineteenth century. The method is that of the discussion of the theories of leading writers, and the writers included are Plato, Aristotle, Aquinas, Dante, Machiavelli, More, Hobbes, Spinoza, Locke, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Hamilton, Madison, Jay (*Federalist*), and Bentham. The plan is not wholly different from that covered in this review, except that the great developments of the nineteenth century are neglected. But the analysis, as far as it goes, is clear, and conventional. *The Physiocratic System and the Industrial*

Revolution, by Petzet, is an economic-sociological study confined to a much more limited, but an important, period. It apparently grew out of a doctor's thesis, applying the culturesphere, civilization-sphere, and social bodies theories of his teacher, Alfred Weber, to a particular period. It is, therefore, a reinterpretation and on the whole a clarifying one. The physiocratic doctrines failed to prevail because they were linked with a feudalistic and oligarchic culture that was passing. The rising bourgeois English industrialism succeeded because it moved with the current of culture. The analysis is essentially sociological, and all phases of the philosophy, science and institutions of physiocratic France are presented, although briefly.

A General View of European Legal History and Other Papers, by the late professor of Roman Law and European legal history in Columbia University, causes one to wish that the author had edited less and written much more. Clear and incisive are his points and arguments. There have been national histories of law in Europe, but no European history as such; yet European law is a distinct form of culture and Europe is a distinctive culture area for this law. "The Domain of Political Science" was published in the first issue of the *Political Science Quarterly* (1886) and is one of the earliest and best attempts to define the fields of the social sciences and especially of political science, which was just then beginning to achieve academic independence. "Four German Jurists," "Customary Law," and "Jurisprudence" are other first rate articles among a baker's dozen. Abel's *Systematic Sociology in Germany* is an analysis and criticism of the theories of Simmel, Vierkandt, von Wiese, and Max Weber. This is the best criticism of Simmel's theory that the content of sociology is the study of forms

that I know. The author shows that Simmel himself violates his own aprioristic methodological theories in his procedure. He shows also how Vierkandt evolved from a quasi-inductivist, using anthropological materials, to a metaphysical phenomenologist. Wiese is not so bad, but has serious methodological defects. Weber was developing from a philosopher into a sociologist when he died, and was using the inductive method. If all other German sociologists are equally as poor, one can excuse Abel for not presenting more of them; but possibly his own penchant for the abstract has led him to choose the more philosophically minded for his exposition.

IX

Perhaps so much contact with modern realists entitles us to a brief excursion into the past. First comes Rudd's *Chinese Social Origins*. The author has taught in China and knows the classics in the original, as his copious documentation shows. The early Chinese social theory is decidedly ethical, but the ethics is in an unusual degree based upon a socialized instead of a magical or theological conception of the world. The author presents both social and individual ethical theory and attempts to explain the origins of this theory in a naturalistic manner by reference to the social and natural environment that produced it. The book is excellent. The author of *The Cardinal Ideas of Jeremiah* (C. E. Jefferson) is much less interested in genesis than in exposition, but he has written a very useful book, if somewhat more popular. It was originally delivered as a series of sermons to an intelligent audience. Of the tons of manuscripts written on the books of the Bible, those dealing intelligently with their social theories could be counted on the fingers of a single hand. The author

concludes that Jeremiah had social problems to deal with in his day very similar to our own, and that the prophets were

thoroughly modern men. However that may be, this little book helps to understand both.

THE LOGIC OF SCIENCE

GEORGE A. LUNDBERG

FROM THE PHYSICAL TO THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. By Jacques Rueff. Translated by Herman Green. Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1929. xxxii + 159 pp.

Perhaps the principal obstacle in the teaching of science and scientific method is the widespread misapprehension as to the nature of scientific laws. The feeling is still very general that scientific laws are "natural laws" in the sense of principles inherent in the universe and waiting patiently to be discovered by some bright person. One of the most effective devices of preachers is to describe the marvelous "order," "plan," and "reason" in the universe and then dramatically ask if this does not show the presence of a master intellect pulling wires from somewhere within the dim unknown. The ordinary university classes and a large proportion of the faculty are shocked at the suggestion that this marvelous order and plan is of man's own making. The fact that the "plan" has varied almost without limits at different times in the history of science and has always been found equally marvelous and reasonable to the people of its own times does not alter seriously people's belief in the doctrine that truth, order, reason, plan, and purpose are inherent in the universe quite apart from man's formulations. From this belief flows the smug conceit of the more pedantic physical scientists that their disciplines proceed according to a logic essentially different from that which underlies the social sciences, psychology or even ethics and theology.

They also have little difficulty in convincing themselves that their units and terminology are natural and inevitable categories as compared with the "artificial" and "abstract" units and classifications of other studies.

The book under review is a devastating philosophical critique of this attitude. It is devoted to the simple thesis that scientific formulas, like all other formulations, are subject to revision in the light of new experience and that the essence of all systems of thought is the creation of causes which are consistent with our experience. As long as this consistency or compatibility obtains, our formulations are "true," "rational" and "natural." Science simply consists of a system of postulates or causes created in order to be the premises for conclusions which coincide with the practically useful behavior of persons and things. Thus the chemist or the physicist at any given time creates systems of elements, atoms, or electrons to coincide with the necessities arising from his observations. When his empirical observations increase or change he abandons previous postulates and creates new ones which are compatible with his experience. The only difference between the physical and the social sciences, or indeed ethics and theology, is the degree to which we have refined and objectified our experience of the various phenomena and the adequacy of the symbolism with which we describe them. The units, methods of measurement, and general

methods of procedure are in no case imposed upon us from the outside. They are arbitrarily chosen by us from the practical dictates of the time and situation at hand.

Everyone familiar with the writings of Pearson, Veblen, Eddington, and others will, of course, find nothing startling in this thesis. The completeness of the demonstration throughout the different fields of physics, chemistry, mathematics, political economy and ethics constitutes the chief contribution of this book. Its application to ethics is especially interesting. "The first man probably had no more idea of duty than of causality." His experience engendered in him ideas of what "ought-to-be." Thus moral laws come to exist. They are natural laws. "This moral reality once known, we must, following the general plan of constructing a science, create its causes; i.e. explain it for our human minds. In order to do this we, as usual, enunciate a system of initial propositions, axioms and definitions which, when fed into the reasoning machine, will produce theorems coinciding with the rules of practical morals. . . . So long as the rationally deduced theorems are not in contradiction with the rules of the 'ought-to-be' extracted from the cur-

rent of our thought, the physical theory is good, the causes are retained, and we say that they represent the nature of things. When the coincidence is no longer present the initial proposition must be changed. . . . Thus conceived, ethical theories are, as are all the physical theories, rational systems constructed from causes which we create in order to rediscover by the deductive method the empirical laws, which life has compelled us to recognize."

The book is entirely philosophical in its approach but in its pragmatic viewpoint rules out as meaningless the classical metaphysical questions of ultimate reality. Its proportions and balance are somewhat peculiar in that it illustrates its thesis by one page devoted to Biology two pages to Psychology, twenty-two pages to Ethics, and fifty-two pages, or one third of the book, heavily buttressed with mathematical formulas, to Political Economy. A 23 page introduction by Herman Oliphant and Abram Hewitt emphasizes the implications of the author's point of view for the study and practice of law. Sociology and political science are not directly touched. But the book as a whole is undoubtedly the completest statement of the philosophy of science in a brief compass which has yet appeared.

THREE NEW BOOKS ON SOCIAL RESEARCH

HORNELL HART AND DOROTHY HANKINS

RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES: ITS FUNDAMENTAL METHODS AND OBJECTIVES. Edited by Wilson Gee. New York: Macmillan, 1929. x + 305 pp. \$2.00.

SOCIAL RESEARCH: A STUDY IN METHODS OF GATHERING DATA. By George A. Lundberg. New York: Longmans, 1929. x + 380 pp. \$3.00.

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL RESEARCH. By Howard W. Odum and Katharine Jocher. New York: Holt, 1929. xiv + 488 pp. \$4.00.

If duly revised, Comte's conception of

three stages in human thought provides a tempting tool for analyzing recent developments in sociology. Intellectual attempts to deal with reality appear to involve three factors: (1) subjective experience; (2) logical analysis, interpretation, and generalization; and (3) objective testing and verification. When subjective experience is emphasized, to the practical exclusion of objective verification and of

logical interpretation, the result is mysticism (including under that head, magic and animism as well as modern mystical systems). When logical consistency dominates, to the practical exclusion of objective verification, the resulting systems of thought are metaphysical. When objective verification dominates, with a tendency to subordinate or even exclude subjective values or logical interpretation, the resulting systems of thought are positivistic, including such recent developments as behaviorism.

Until quite recently, social thinking has been predominantly metaphysical. Sociological metaphysicians have sought to build up logical systems, based either on subjective experiences not reduced to objectively described and verified forms, or else on logical classifications of the metaphysical ideas of other sociologists and upon deductive reasoning from supposed "authorities."

In sharp reaction against metaphysical methods, the present trend in social science seems to be markedly toward positivism. The movement toward objectivity is well illustrated by the first of the volumes under review—the symposium edited by Dr. Gee, entitled *Research in the Social Sciences*.

In 1926, when the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences at the University of Virginia began its studies, the lectures printed in the present volume were delivered by an outstanding authority in each of the fields in which studies were being undertaken. One thing stands out in the chapters by each of these authorities. Whether the writer be Park discussing problems of society, Young hesitating before the wealth of economic fields to be investigated, Wissler outlining the task of anthropology, Chaddock pointing out that there is danger of our using statistical techniques to add by mathematical processes indirect measures that are not com-

parable, Woodworth advocating a middle of the road policy in regard to the various "schools" of psychology, Pound arguing for an entirely new type of research in the field of jurisprudence, Schlesinger discussing the necessity of a psychological background for the future historian, or Dewey explaining the contribution of philosophy to the social sciences, each of the contributors is convinced that future progress in his field depends upon the use of increasingly scientific methods. The one possible exception is Beard who, though he gives rather a superficial view of the psychological material which he uses for illustrative purposes (pp. 275-281), writes in a more or less popular and extremely entertaining style about what scientific research cannot do for political science.

The emphasis upon objectivity in the treatments of sociology and anthropology is particularly striking. As Professor Park conceives it, sociology is concerned with objective definition and description of social data in their combinations and sequences, and particularly in the intensive objective study of natural areas in a city. "Population pyramids," "mobility and land values," "frames of reference" and "life histories" suggest the types of research employed. Anthropology, as presented by Clark Wissler in the same symposium, has as its objective: (1) To note ultimately the kind, bodily appearance, and culture of the people living in any locality of the existing land mass of the earth, at each successive time stratum, from the present back to the very beginning. (2) To compare the peoples of these localities and strata, the one with the other, seeking their genetic and historical relationships.

The writers in this symposium have space to speak only in a general way of the methods and objectives in their respective fields without detailed discussions of pro-

cedures. For the most part, they confine themselves to summaries of the types of scientific work done in the past, and possibilities of such work in the future. They throw considerable unheated light upon the nice questions of boundaries and interrelations between the social sciences.

Lundberg's text, *Social Research: A Study in the Methods of Gathering Data*, might be termed a positivistic study of positivistic methods of social research. The objective analysis of social phenomena by experienced investigators provides Lundberg with materials to be analyzed objectively: the book gives concrete and systematized data about ways of collecting concrete and systematized data about society.

This is quite definitely a textbook. In his preface (p. iii) Lundberg says that he has brought together and put into compact form the material he has found useful in his course on the subject and that his objectives are: (1) To emphasize the importance of accurate and objective observation as the first step in scientific method, on which the value of subsequent analysis and the validity of the conclusions depend. (2) To inculcate a healthy skepticism of, and a critical spirit toward, statistical data by acquainting the student with the difficulties, danger, and inaccuracies to which the collection and interpretation of social data are especially subject. (3) To give a general knowledge of the technique of gathering original data. He feels that statistical techniques have been developing more rapidly than have techniques of gathering original material and that there is danger of applying refined methods of treatment to data which are themselves extremely inaccurate.

Mr. Lundberg uses his first chapter to point out that the scientific method can be applied to the social sciences; he then discusses the actual difficulties involved and the necessity for a more definite and

uniform terminology. He follows this with chapters devoted to a discussion of the sample in social research, the schedule, the interview and social survey, case studies and the statistical method, the measurement of attitudes, the measurement of social institutions, and various movements toward the standardization of social statistics. In the appendix there is a list of selected references arranged according to chapters, a list of published sources of social data, and a list of literature concerned with types of social measuring devices. Last of all there is both an author and a subject index.

Mr. Lundberg is a behaviorist and writes from that point of view. It is true that he discusses the current methods of measuring attitudes but he sees attitudes as "verbal behavior" and treats the subject accordingly (p. 199). His viewpoint as a behaviorist is brought out especially in his evaluation of case history material. His arguments in favor of greater objectivity in the recording of case histories are good, and his criticisms of present methods are deserved; but certainly few case workers would endorse wholeheartedly his suggestions about the use of "elaborate schedules" for case recording unless these schedules were used only as supplements to other methods (p. 186). Again, the case worker might consider doubtful some of the practices advocated in interviewing.

However, *Social Research* is a readable, carefully written book which lives up rather adequately to its sub-title, "A Study in Methods of Gathering Data," and whose many illustrations of bad and good practices in these methods add to its usefulness as a text.

Odum and Jocher, in *An Introduction to Social Research*, say that it has been developed to meet "a specific need for help in regional social research and in training research personnel at the University of

North Carolina" and "also the increasing demand for an elementary textbook in the fundamentals of social research." (Preface, p. v.) This might lead one to expect a handbook telling prospective research workers what to do and what not to do in the way of general procedure if they wish to achieve valid results. But this text is more than a handbook, for the authors see social research as something much greater than a problem of procedures.

In view of the present emphasis on the positivistic approach, one is struck by their application of what might almost be termed metaphysical methods. The volume appears to have been built up, not by studying instances of research, but rather by classifying the opinions of outstanding thinkers on various topics related to research. The book therefore proves to be authoritative rather than inductive, but there is a sweep about the treatment of their material that may well win converts to their enthusiasm-kindling views upon what they well characterize as "one of the most important tasks of the present era."

The subject matter falls into four parts. The first deals with the relation of the physical and the social sciences, the interrelations of the social sciences, and the range of social research. This serves as an introduction to the discussion of the types of *approach* to the problem, which Odum and Jocher classify as philosophical, general analogical, biological, psychological, anthropological, politico-juristic, economic, and sociological; the types of *method*, which are historical, case, survey, experimental, statistical, and scientific-human; and finally the types of *procedure*, which comprise the personnel and commonsense technique, exploring the sources, utilizing available aids, analyzing, interpreting, and presenting results, social analysis and the social denominator, and a representative bibliography. The distinc-

tion between approach, method and procedure seems on the whole a justifiable and pertinent one.

In the fourth part of the book is presented an unusually interesting and thorough discussion of such practical matters as selecting a problem, obtaining data, bibliographies, reading, taking and filing notes, the interview, schedules, use of the typewriter, steps in analysis and interpretation, etc. Odum and Jocher warn us that the previous material is not complete without this section.

At every point throughout the book a generous number of examples and quotations are given as illustrations of the views held by different writers in the field. Most of these are from secondary sources, as the authors themselves point out. The mechanical technique of the blocked paragraph for setting forth the abstracts, illustrations, and references is a trifle confusing at first, and the wealth of brief quotations seems at times to slow up the progress of the book and even obscure the general outline, but on the whole this material is interesting and illuminating.

The topical table of contents and the "representative" bibliography classified according to the four general phases of the treatment of the subject in the text add usefulness to this book. However, perhaps the greatest contribution of *An Introduction to Social Research* is that it leaves the reader thrilled with the subject and, at the same time, with a valid picture of its limitations and possibilities.

In the recent revulsion from the metaphysical notion that sociology can be built up by methods analogous to those used in geometry, perhaps too much credence is being given to the positivistic notion that science must be erected through statistical or case studies of objective facts, piecing together relationships, and building one stone upon another

until the whole structure arises without any aid from common sense, from subjective values, or from metaphysical deduction. Even as somewhat modified in actual practice, (See Lundberg, *Social Research*, pp. 30-31) this positivistic notion is seriously misleading. The reviewers take the somewhat heretical position that science in its truest sense is a synthesis—that it grows up out of the *objective* analysis and *logical* interpretation of *subjective* experience. An examination of the history of such sciences as astronomy, geology, biology, and anthropology shows that they grew, not by positivistic or metaphysical construction of systems from objective data or logical axioms, but

rather by starting with subjective experience, applying the techniques of objective verification and of logical analysis to one aspect after another, and thereby gradually rebuilding and improving a common sense system into a science. The positivists are making a tremendous contribution to social thought through their insistence upon objective verification. The metaphysicians are rendering a real service by developing logical hypotheses to be tested. But only when we regard both of these disciplines as auxiliary techniques for the scientific revision of common sense founded upon subjective experience shall we make real progress toward scientific sociology.

LIFE AND LITERATURE IN LATIN AMERICA

L. L. BERNARD

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I

Frequently in these pages we have referred to the growing body of bibliographical materials touching upon the history and the social problems of the Latin American peoples. In this field Argentina naturally leads. Now the University of La Plata, through the instigation of Dean Ricardo Levene, the leading social historian of Argentina, has begun the publication of a complete bibliography of all Argentine productions in letters, history, education, and philosophy. The two initial volumes here presented cover the years 1926 and 1927. Other volumes will follow until all Argentine literature has been covered. The social sciences are included under other headings, mainly under "philosophy." Under each title, with complete citations, there is an analysis of the contents of the article or book. The plan and execution are both excellent. An index of authors at the

ends of the volumes is also very helpful. The University of Buenos Aires, under the guidance of Emilio Ravignani, is also engaged in the collection and publication of documentary and bibliographical materials, but so far this work has centered primarily in colonial history. The two monographs by José Torre Revello present valuable materials for the historical investigators interested in this period. The work is very carefully done and the citations are full. These monographs represent numbers 46 and 47 in the series of bibliographical publications.

Escobio's *Civilization in Greece* is not bibliographical, but an elementary and readable account of the culture of the Greeks throughout their history. There is little reference to political history, but the best European sources have been utilized in the preparation of this book, destined alike for the student and the general reader. The Argentines never have abandoned interest in the philosophy of history and they now require it to be taught in the fifth year of their high schools. As this volume shows, they have brought the subject over from a speculative to a factual and descriptive basis. The volume is really a sort of elementary descriptive sociology of Greece.

Dr. Moreno, minister of the Interior for the dictatorship which took over the government of Ecuador a few years ago, here makes the apology for the revolution or *coup d'état* of July 9. Of course it is a partisan document, but it is full of interest for those who concern themselves with the psychology, economics, and politics of Latin American revolutions.

II

No other peoples handle biography so sympathetically and so understandingly as the Latins. *The Deification of Dorrego* (freely translated, the *Heroization*) is the

official compilation of documents relative to this national hero and the erection of a monument to him, made by Dr. Bucich Escobar for the national monument commission. Dorrego was the leader of the federalist movement in Argentina in the 1820's and was publicly shot by the centralists after his defeat in battle—such was the practice during the early civil wars. He was a man of education and wide reading and travel. He was one of the many South Americans who studied political and governmental methods in this country during the first decades of the past century. He spent many months in our southern states interviewing leading statesmen and returned to Argentina about 1820 to build up a similar government in that country. Argentina has always deplored his murder and has now made of him a national hero. The current volume presents, among other things, the opinions of eminent national writers and a good brief working bibliography.

Another Argentine hero, although as yet but poorly rewarded, was Aristobulo del Valle, the great liberal leader in the national congress in the 1880's and 1890's. He had many of the personal qualities of J. G. Blaine and the political slant of the elder LaFollette. The two volumes by Señora Aldao de Díaz are the result of an intimate personal friendship from her early maturity. Rarely have I read a book so charmingly written, displaying so much sympathetic insight into character and feeling. The book is not a biography, but rather a series of very appreciative and highly artistic pictures of the man as he appeared in his personal and public contacts. The personality of Del Valle was a very rich one, as I have often heard from his friend and co-worker, the aged Dr. Wilmart, but even more is the reader of these volumes rewarded by the intimate insight they carry to one interested in Argentine life and ideals of forty years ago.

Not less informative, but appealing in a different way, is Rafael Calzada's account of his *Fifty Years in America*. Calzada was born in northwestern Spain (Asturias) and, like many other Spaniards, went while young to Argentina, where he prospered. But he never forgot his devotion to his native land, remaining always at heart a Spaniard. Thus he sympathized with Spain in her wars against Cuba and the United States and took part in raising money for Spain. At one time he, with other fellow Spaniards, even sought to induce the Argentines to change their national anthem in order that it might be less offensive to Spanish patriotism, and he was surprised at the emotional reaction to this proposal. He was very important, perhaps the foremost figure, in the promotion of the Spanish Club, the Spanish daily, and the Spanish Patriotic Association in Buenos Aires. There is not a great deal of difference between his autobiography and the history of these and similar pro-Spanish institutions. And withal the autobiography is written so simply and so frankly and with such apparently profound conviction that his work was good that it is undoubtedly an important human and social document, throwing a flood of light upon the factors that have worked toward the spiritual reconquest of Latin America by Spain.

The Spanish too have caught the biographical urge and Domínguez Berueta's *Cardinal Cisneros* presents the story of the greatest religious leader of Spain at her most critical period, that of world expansion. Twice also he was governor of the kingdom (1506 and 1516). Thus he had much to do with the fashioning of Spanish American political and religious policies. The author has given an intimate and apparently a frank picture of his life, from his early struggles with poverty to his ultimate great triumphs. Always he was intensely religious and mystical.

III

The Spirit of Ibero-America by the distinguished Brazilian, de Navarro, is a rhapsody on the political ideals and the literature of the nations derived from the Iberian peninsula. The book opens with a discussion of the proposal of expresident Suarez of Colombia for a union of the states liberated by Bolivar (Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia) and of the further proposal of Victor J. Guevára of Peru for the internationalization of the Spanish American press in order to free it from local triviality, petty jealousies, and strangling commercialism. There is also a high and rather florid tribute to the leadership of Mexico. Most of the other papers deal with various nationally distinguished poets and their work, but there is scarcely a man of eminence in Spanish and Portuguese America who does not come in for recognition at some point or other. Political and reform leaders and ideas are not neglected.

Beneath the Southern Cross, by the Italian Countess Guiseppina Paci, is another sort of book, a piece of journalistic description of the State of San Paulo and of the City of Rio, in Brazil. It is filled with interesting pictures of leading men of the day, as well as of public buildings, coffee plantations, and other objects of concern. There are also literary descriptions of the people, politics, welfare and commercial activities, education, the church, social life, almost everything. For one who desires a rapid survey of the most enterprising of Brazilian states (San Paulo) this is an excellent guide, provided he reads Italian.

IV

In Argentina are many Italian immigrants and sons of immigrants. The intellectual and emotional bonds between the two countries are very strong. *The*

Panorama of Contemporary Argentine Literature, by Emilio de Matteis, was written for the information of Italians and published in Genova, which is the chief port of embarkation for Italian immigrants to Argentina. The work does not attempt any markedly philosophic analysis or particularly modernistic slant, but is a good clear running commentary upon the poetry, drama, and prose of the country in recent years. There are special chapters on philology, humor, criticism, and periodicals. There is also an index of authors. *The Work of Rojas* is a large volume of the collected reviews of the various writings of the distinguished rector of the University of Buenos Aires which have appeared since 1903. Ricardo Rojas is primarily a poet, but he has also written the history of Argentine literature in four large volumes—the best work on this subject so far produced—and several volumes on national political and social psychology and history. The present volume is excellent as a summary analysis and criticism of these and other works. Another distinguished Argentine writer (although born in France) was *Paul Groussac*, who died in his eighty-second year in 1929. For more than forty years he was librarian of the national library and he was also well known as historian, philologist, critic, and editor. To a considerable degree he fathered the new methods of historical investigation in Argentina. According to its practice upon the death of Argentine writers of first rank, *Nosotros* published a special edition (August, 1929) dealing exclusively with the life, character, work, and methods of Groussac, to which 30 leading Argentine writers and scholars contributed.

V

Another outstanding Argentine writer is Juan Pablo Echagüe, commonly known

by his pen name, Jean Paul, made famous in Latin America and Latin Europe through his dramatic criticisms for *La Prensa* of Buenos Aires and other periodicals. He is the most distinguished of Latin American dramatic critics, a man of wide philosophic and social outlook. The life by Molna Figueroa is brief, well written, and it provides all necessary facts. His greatest work is *An Epoch of Argentine Drama*, covering the period 1904-18 and reprinted repeatedly as well as translated into French as *The Argentine Drama*. The author is thoroughly familiar with all drama from the days of the Greeks to the present, and it is in the light of this knowledge that he discusses Argentina's contribution of no mean merit. He reviews the drama from all angles, by no means omitting the drama of the mores, the psychological, the historical, and the philosophic drama, along with his analyses of comedy, tragedy, vaudeville, and melodrama. His volume on *Men and Ideas* goes farther back into literary history and discusses, among other matters, the origins of the great Sarmiento's *Remembrances of the Province*. Two of these essays—"Love in the Drama" and "Morals in the Drama"—have more than passing sociological interest.

VI

One of the chief forms of intellectual recreation in Latin America is literary criticism and periodical controversy. Some very good commentaries upon life and thought appear through these channels. Editorial Tor of Buenos Aires has hit upon an excellent device for saving the best of this material from newspaper oblivion by republishing it in brief brochures that may easily be read at a single short sitting. This house also brings out first issue works in this brief form. One of the best of these is Julio Fingerit's *An*

Enemy of Civilization: Lugones. It is one of the sanest and best pieces of biting satire I have read in any language. It deserves to be read everywhere, for it is a refutation of promilitaristic arguments which need not fear to stand up with those of Alberdi, Nicolai, and Novikow. Lugones is the most popular poet of the day in Latin America, and recently he published a work entitled *The Organization of Peace*, which turned out to be a thoroughgoing justification for war, such as one might expect to hear in the military club which he frequents. Naturally his popularity gave a wide and sympathetic hearing to his opinions. But his logic was poor and his data were meagre. Fingerit, with masterly wit and satire, took up his arguments one by one and indicated their absurdity with that literary touch which would best appeal to the readers of Lugones. Argentina is very active in the encouragement of literature and art and offers very considerable prizes for the best work in literature, drama, music, etc. Some criticisms have arisen regarding the working of the plan and Torrendell in his *Literary Competitions* has offered what he regards as a solution. In this same volume he discusses the Latin American literary situation in general, pointing out how few of their writers really are read in Europe and North America. He also recognizes a more serious shortcoming—the lack of an easily available collection of the best Latin American books and magazines in any Latin American city anywhere. These writers do not know one another adequately.

Another work in criticism—Wapnir's *Positive Criticism*—has some excellent things to say against the extravagances of the newest schools whose members strive so strongly for effect at the expense of representative meaning and values. In this respect the Latin Americans largely

VII

take their cues from Latin Europe, where senseless and gaudy writing have perhaps reached a more extreme development than in the United States. Wapnir does not find the best Argentine writers following such tactics, however. His book also contains some worth while essays on Jean Paul and Fingerit (see above) and on Palacios, the militant Argentine warrior for a better social world. Perhaps one of the most surprising things in a literary way is Windermere's *Universal Caricature*, which is a defense of what he calls Puritanism. Perhaps his English name will explain the anomaly of moralizing in Spanish. The Latins moralize enough, but it is usually in defense of the mores or of the rituals rather than of ethics. Often I have known men, who would think nothing of engaging in extra-marital relations, to be scandalized at the North American divorce habit. Windermere's pet Puritan antipathies are toward the movies, violence in sports, the "substitution of genital perversion for intellectual elevation" in literature and art, and the constant playing up of the theatre to the non-intellectual appetites. This is what he calls the "universal caricature" of life.

Will o' the Wisps, by José Austria is in part an examination and criticism of some of the wise saws of the old transcendentalist essayists, including Emerson, and in part an attempt to reconstruct a mystical philosophy in a manner not unlike that pursued by some of our more mystical religious sects. There are several biblical interpretations of this sort. It is interesting as an example of a type of writing that one meets with more frequently in certain parts of Latin America than in this country.

Latin Americans frequently mix imagination and mysticism with description in their travel books. This is true of Medina Cadiz' *Suggestions from Southern Magellanland*, in which interesting stories and flights of the imagination soar alongside of visions of beautiful scenery. Much the same is true of *Native Soil*, by Corvetto, although this book as a whole may be said to give one a very artistic and sympathetic picture of the beautiful piedmonts of Mendoza, the land of the grape and of snow clad mountains, not unlike interior California. The author has arranged his exhibits well. Davalos' *Seekers of Gold*, although also an exhibit—in the form of narrative descriptions, stories, and opinions—of his own province of Salta, flies less high in the realms of fancy. It offers more tangible contacts with the life and thought and aspirations of the people of the inner provinces of Argentina. All three of these books, and this one in particular, are calculated to give one a "feeling" for the provincial life through the medium of sympathetic absorption. *Fables*, by Montiel Ballesteros, is somewhat different. It employs the same method, but its field of contacts is broader, for it introduces the reader to the semi-folk-lore of all the Latin Americas, but without regional distinction. There is no arrangement of materials in such a way as to suggest a point of view. Evidently the motive is merely that of entertainment. Frequently books like these afford one a more sympathetic appreciation of the people than more formal treatises.

PLANNING THE CITY

MARY PHLEGAR SMITH

OUR CITIES TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW: A SURVEY OF PLANNING AND ZONING PROGRESS IN THE UNITED STATES. By Theodora Kimball Hubbard and Henry Vincent Hubbard. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 389 pp. \$5.00.

THE CITY OF TOMORROW, AND ITS PLANNING. By Le Corbusier. Translated from the French, with an Introduction by Frederick Etchells. New York: Payson & Clarke, 302 pp. \$7.50.

When Harvard University, through the Milton Fund for Research, made a grant for "a survey and analysis of city planning and zoning progress in the United States" the study was wisely entrusted to the direction of Professor and Mrs. H. V. Hubbard, both experienced in reporting city planning. The limitations of the project, as drafted, required that completeness be sacrificed to haste, else a *contemporary* view of cities and towns throughout the country could not be obtained. Housing, public utility engineering, and planning of new towns were eliminated from the study for one reason or another. As finally defined the survey included "zoning, control of land subdivision, major street systems, mass transportation, rail, water and air terminals, park and recreation areas, aspects of the city's appearance, with legal and administrative means of affecting city and regional planning and with the education of the public to support planning measures," or, in other words, "the elements of planning most commonly dealt with to-day by the competent general practitioner of city planning."

Some 120 cities and districts were selected for examination—selected on the basis of population, function, location, and success or failure of planning experience.

Data gathered by the field representative has been assembled in categories almost

identical with the groupings mentioned above. Supplementary facts, gained by the authors in their previous experience with city planning procedure, round out the study. The volume thus represents far more than a presentation of the findings of a five months' investigation. Appendices carry notes and comments taken directly from the schedules, and also a descriptive directory of the cities and regions visited. They provide much specific and detailed information to accompany the general conclusions set forth in the chapters preceding them.

The material is well organized and effectively presented. Professor and Mrs. Hubbard are to be commended for their impartial viewpoint. Undue optimism has not been evidenced. Nor has there been any attempt to minimize the obstacles hindering the progress of efficient city planning.

This volume raises again the question as to the relative value of the cursory survey. Can any investigator visiting 120 cities in 42 states within a period of approximately 150 days possibly verify the information supplied him? Can he get other than limited observations on the matters studied? To be sure, when the informant is the official in charge of whatever is being surveyed one expects replies to be accurate and final. However, answers involving opinion, and still more, those concerning individual interests and activities, are almost certain to take on a subjective bias, even when obtained from authoritative sources. The alternative procedure, of course, is narrowing the study and deepening it, or increasing its cost and putting more field representatives to work. The underlying issue seems to

be not merely a question of methodology, but of the meaning of "research."

On the other hand a study of this kind is valuable in many respects. It is a convenient reference manual on city planning. It will be helpful to students of municipal government in supplying concrete data to support theoretical discussions. It ably carries out, as far as the limitations imposed upon it have permitted, the authors' purpose that it be a bird's eye view of planning and zoning procedure in this country.

Charles-Edouard Jeanneret, a French architect, writing under the pseudonym Le Corbusier, sets for himself an altogether different planning problem in "The City of Tomorrow." Along with a discussion of what one might call the philosophy of city planning, he deduces the premise, that the city is a lumbering historical machine, breaking down physically under demands of the present age, and through its inefficiency wearing out millions of human beings. It is imperative that a change be made. So he comes forward boldly with a plan for the complete reconstruction of city structure; that is, for the elimination of "the anachronistic persistence of the original skeleton of the city" which "paralyzes its growth," and for the erection in its stead of a "model" city. For Paris he elaborates a separate plan dealing with a rearrangement of the centre of the city.

Le Corbusier's scheme is based upon proper planning of housing, since "security of the dwelling is the condition of social equilibrium;" of the street, since it is "a sort of factory for producing speed traffic;" and of open spaces, for "this is the only way to ensure the necessary degree of health and peace to enable men to meet the anxieties of work occasioned by the new speed at which business is carried on."

Cruciform skyscrapers in the central district will provide all facilities for work. They will be used solely for business and industry. Near these skyscrapers will be placed the shops and cafes, public buildings and theatres, all relatively low in height. Residential quarters, built on the "set-back" or "cellular" system, accommodating families in standardized apartments, equipped with standardized furniture, will occupy the second zone. The suburbs or garden cities will provide for additional homes. All buildings will be set in green open spaces so that the city will be a veritable park. Arterial streets, 50 yards wide, intersecting at distances of 400 yards, are designed with several levels, each having its separate function. Streets will be straight and built for speed. "The winding road is the Pack Donkey's Way, the straight road is man's way." This street arrangement will guard against congestion. Skyscrapers as planned will allow for population density.

Buildings throughout the city, patterned according to a "universal standard," and uniform in detail, will engender "serenity and joy" and "lift high" the mind, according to Le Corbusier's theory. City dwellers will find pleasant the life in this efficient machine, with its opportunities for work in comfortable surroundings, its ease of transportation, and its ample provision for amusements. All is designed that there may "never come a time when people can be bored in our city."

A revolutionary scheme such as the one described can be considered only as idealistic. This affects to a decisive extent its applicability to city conditions in the United States. It is true that certain features of the "programme" are already familiar to us. "Rectilinear cities" we have a plenty. Quadrangular blocks of

houses, streets of two and three levels are not uncommon. The skyscraper is an American invention. Though some features are well known, the extent to which they are used, and their arrangement, make Le Corbusier's model city different in kind, rather than different in degree, from our present types of cities. No one, not even the author, expects any of our city planning commissions to be so daring, or to have power enough, to attempt to execute the proposed plan in its entirety, or even in half or a fourth of its entirety.

Yet, who doubts that some city builders may follow it, albeit from afar off? Twenty years ago who would have prophesied a Radburn?

Readers of "The city of Tomorrow" will be charmed with its literary style. It is so fascinating that its most radical theories seem plausible when couched in Le Corbusier's phrases. The illustrations and maps are attractively done and generous in number. In form and make-up the volume is a work of art—a credit to the craft of bookmaking.

"SUPERSTITION AND ITS ANTIDOTE"

FRANK H. HANKINS

THE MIGHTY MEDICINE. (Superstition and Its Antidote: A New Liberal Education.) By Franklin H. Giddings. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929. 147 pp. \$2.00.

In 1894 Professor Giddings sounded a warning against the optimistic assumption that the long and hard-fought battle for academic freedom had been finally won. He saw danger in the increasing control of education by the unenlightened masses. He foresaw that the fervid social democratic movement would compel an increasing subserviency of "the high to the low." Thirty-two years later he was able to say that, in spite of universal education, "we remain superstitious, afraid of knowledge, bigoted and intolerant." He here goes on to distinguish two kinds of education: one that is experimental and scientific and one that is traditional and sacrosanct. One "is a child of intellectual courage" and "fights in defense of mystery-dispelling knowledge and of intellectual liberty." The other "is a child of fear;" "it harks back to incantations and sorceries;" "it is vouched for by the doctors of magic;" it "crushes intellectual liberty" and "hates scientific knowledge."

"By selections and eliminations traditional education has fashioned superstition, magic, and necromancy into occultism, which it conserves and propagates." There follows these phrases one of the most forth-right, penetrating and readable essays on current educational thought and practice that has ever been written.

Giddings writes from a high plane. He speaks soberly and earnestly, and he means what he says. He sees in knowledge and scientific modes of thought the only hope of an attractive human future. He sees that the classical education has become antiquated and that a new genuinely liberal education must take its place. The new will teach that the end of life is not the glorification of God, nor yet the salvation of an immortal soul, but living, and especially enjoyable living. It will cultivate a scientific and experimental attitude toward all problems, and not least toward the profounder problems of life (that is, living). Right conduct is that which is physiologically, psychologically, and sociologically right, as shown by actual experience. "Adjustment of personal life to reality, ultimate and

universal, is religion." The author examines the possibilities for the high school, the college, and "the unfit," and ends with "The present duty of the intellectually honest and unafraid."

One fears it is too good a book to be as widely read as it should be. The jazz age is a good deal like a wilful child, not inclined to take what is good for it. What is democratic still passes for what is good and right, and what satisfies the emotions of minds stultified by occultism still passes for what is improving and constructive. It is scarcely to be expected that the vast majority of even American children, dragged by ignorant parents, churchly mystics, and fearful school-marms will succeed in sloughing off the age-old ob-

scurantism. Among them the logic and the emotional verities of "the mighty medicine" of an antique culture seem likely to continue to explain nature, life and man. It is, indeed, "a satisfaction to know that if one isn't a congenital idiot he does not have to talk and act like one lest the boggy man get him;" but it seems as true now as when Giddings uttered his first warning thirty-five years ago that the "Blare of trumpets, rattle of drums, the howling of partisans and of converts are of and for the hosts of hokum." Would that we could be sure that the hosts are not growing faster than that civilized minority who are "intellectually honest and self-respectingly unafraid."

THREE MEN IN SEARCH OF AN ETHIC

RUPERT B. VANCE

THE MODERN TEMPER. By Joseph Wood Krutch. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1919. 249 pp. \$2.50.

A PREFACE TO MORALS. By Walter Lippmann. New York: Macmillan, 1929. 384 pp. \$2.50.

THE NEW MORALITY. By Durant Drake. New York: Macmillan, 1928. 359 pp. \$2.50.

Economic, political, artistic and even religious creeds one may do without, Durant Drake points out, but some code of ethics, even if unformulated, each must follow. In a period which they agree in calling one of moral skepticism our three authors approach the age-old problem of defining the good life. Joseph Wood Krutch is, it seems to me, frankly dismayed; Walter Lippmann would like to be reassuring; and Drake is reservedly for a new pragmatic morality.

Krutch thus poses the problem: "Historical criticism having destroyed what used to be called by people of learning and intelligence 'Christian Evidences' and bi-

ology having shown how unlikely it is that man is the recipient of any transcendental knowledge, there remains no authority for ideas of right and wrong. Custom has furnished the only basis which ethics has ever had, and there is no conceivable human action which custom has not at one time justified and at another condemned. Man is thus forced with the necessity of remaining an ethical animal in a universe which contains no ethical element."

Krutch's answer is avowedly the confession of a mood, a mood which he, no doubt, holds in common with many of our intellectuals. A glory has passed away from the earth. Under the disillusion of science, love has become a simple biological act which sends no spiritual reverberations through the universe; and the tragic spirit in a cosmos, which regards not man, is a fiction, surviving only in art.

To live life as a science is impossible because the moral and religious standards for that science are gone; to live life as an art is to create an anarchy of confused styles and values. Nature may yet save man but only by bidding him embrace some new illusion. If ours is a lost cause we should prefer rather to die as men than to live as animals.

With the brilliant, epigrammatic analysis and the alert and persuasive style of which he is always capable, Walter Lippmann presents a perspective of our dissolving ancestral order of moral authority that is at once moving and profound. That, unfortunately for the science of ethics, is the best part of the book, for when he attempts to propound the new humanism he shows what we have always known—that to analyze disintegration is easier than to synthesize it. That the high religion of the sages, the "disinterestedness" of the philosophers, and the "matured personality" of the psychologists are to coalesce in a system of morality that will at the same time make for individual happiness and social survival is, to put it mildly, doubtful. The fault is not in Mr. Lippmann; through his volume shines the clear and radiant influence of Graham Wallis, William James, and George Santayana. It lies in his materials.

Is it possible to have rational morality without metaphysical and religious sanctions? Krutch says no. To him social

values are simply an anarchy of the confused customs of mankind. One can feel throughout these three volumes the disturbing influence of Sumner's work on *Folkways*. To some observers the whole field of ethics appears to be ready for a definite shift from the domain of philosophy to that of sociology. To thumb through the textbooks in ethics is to find that though they begin with Plato they close with the data and conclusions of modern sociologists. Durant Drake is willing to regard ethics as worthy of being scientific, experimental, and pragmatic. But here comes the rub: sociology seems to regard ethics as purely relative—relative to the group and its culture. The *mores* Sumner long since announced can make anything right. Herein lies confusion to an inductive science of ethics; not only to ethics but to the scientific and artistic sense as well. It may be simply noted that neither chemical elements nor electrons have a peculiar code of behavior for each region in which they are found. Hence a science of physics and another of chemistry. Before sociology can lay logical claims to the privilege of nurturing social ethics it must accomplish two tasks. It must out of the storehouse of cultural studies extract and examine the folk values. With these at hand it must trace through laborious periods of cultural change Sumner's hint that there exists in the *mores* a strain toward consistency.

LOOKING AT THE FAR EAST

MAURICE T. PRICE

ORES AND INDUSTRY IN THE FAR EAST. The Influence of Key Mineral Resources on the Development of Oriental Civilization. By H. Foster Bain, with a chapter on Petroleum by W. B. Heroy, and a preface by Edwin F. Gay. New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1927. xii + 229 pp.

FACTORY WORKERS IN TANGKU. By Sung-ho Lin. Peking, China: Social Research Department, China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture, 1928. xiv + 128 pp. Mex. \$1.50 cloth and \$1.00 sewed.

THE GUILDS OF PEKING. By John S. Burgess. New

York: Columbia University Press, 1928. 270 pp. \$4.00.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN CHINA. By S. K. Sheldon Tso. Shanghai, China: (privately printed), 1928. vi + 230 pp. Paper.

CHINA'S MILLIONS. By Anna Louise Strong. New York: Coward-McCann, 1928. xiv + 413 pp. \$4.00.

INTERNATIONAL RIVALRIES IN MANCHURIA. (2d. Ed. Rev.) By Paul H. Clyde. Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 1928. xviii + 323 pp. \$3.00.

CHINA AND THE OCCIDENT. The Origin and Development of the Boxer Movement. By George N. Steiger. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927. xxii + 349 pp. \$3.50.

CATHOLIC NATIVE EPISCOPACY IN CHINA, being an Outline of the Formation and Growth of the Chinese Catholic Clergy, 1300-1926. By Pascal M. D'Elia. Shanghai, China: T'uswei Printing Press, Siccawei, 1927. vi + 107 pp. Paper pamphlet.

A SHORT HISTORY OF CHINA. By Edward T. Williams. New York: Harper, 1928. xx + 670 pp. \$4.00.

The social scientist immersed in the culture of our rapidly changing industrial civilization, has been turning for perspective to the cultures of primitive peoples and the Orient. The comparative use which he can make of their cultural phenomena is limited in any given case by the degree to which he has some familiarity with their historical roots and development on the one hand and, on the other hand, by their functional relationships at any one period. This, I take it, is the point of view from which factual studies from other cultures are to be envisaged—supplemented, of course, by recognition of any new concepts or hypotheses proposed.

In the first research publication of the Council on Foreign Relations, one of the most widespread misinterpretations of the industrial trends in China is corrected. This able engineers' report summarizes the evidence on mineral deposits in the Far East. It shows that the only considerable mineral supplies in that entire area seem to be China's coal (as to which, estimates differ greatly), antimony and

tungsten, and two other countries' tin; that the quantities of copper, lead, zinc, gold, and silver seem incomparable with those underpinning other industrial civilizations; and that none of the countries bordering on the Western Pacific has important supplies of iron ore. Among the arbiters of nationalism and internationalism, none may prove more potent than nature's equipment for economic independence or dependence.

From the Social Research Department of the China Foundation, and financed by the Institute of Social and Religious Research, New York, comes a report of *Factory Workers in Tangku*, a town of five thousand people a few miles from Tientsin. Though it contains certain naïvetés incident to the beginnings of research in any country, it is a distinct contribution to the few studies available on actual living and working conditions in China. The manner in which two Chinese factories managed by men of modern technical education and of experience in factories of other countries, maintain the traditional personal and paternalistic attitude toward their employees, retain the old customs of a half dozen and more sets of presents or bonuses in addition to regular low wages, grant special leaves of absence for family events and personal undertakings instead of periodic days of rest (in spite of Geneva labor conferences), experiment with the eight-hour day, and apparently encourage welfare, sanitary, and cooperative efforts as their workers seem ready for them—this is the sort of data presented with statistical, objective, and observational evidence.

The Guilds of Peking, by an associate professor of Sociology in the union missionary University in Peking, is more ambitious, includes more elusive material, is necessarily less precise. Standing next to the clan and village as a basic form of Chinese

social organization, the guild has nevertheless had the scantiest treatment in the historical records of China, as Burgess shows. Moreover, the individual guild's own records, like the clan's, are usually sealed books so far as the outsider is concerned; and many of its functions are folkways carried out so automatically that the informants do not think to mention them. The present study builds upon Morse, MacGowan, and Gamble; makes its contribution in an intensive though far from exhaustive study of guilds in the one area, Peking; and is a good safe piece of work until it deals with imponderables like the relationships, function, value, and trends of the guilds and the emergence of modern labor movements in China.

With Tso's thesis, the industrial interest broadens out to wider reaches than Lin's or Burgess'. Unfortunately it is but an elementary journalistic compilation of existing statistics and other misinformation upon the "Chinese labor movement," placed in a historical setting emotionally presented, inaccurately described, and characterized by political concepts which do not apply to that setting.

Even more reckless, but less culpable because it does not pretend to be more than journalistically descriptive, is a vivid first-hand account of experiences in China's revolutionary center and beyond, during 1927. A once judicial student, Anna Louise Strong, now dominated by an obvious set of prepossessions regarding workers' readiness and ability to remake the social order at will and upper classes' monopoly on injustice and pretense, her narrative is fortunately pervaded by a propagandic naïveté that puts the reader on his guard. Keenly sympathetic with the destitution of a bandit-scorched people, and enthused with the adolescent heroism of a number of youthful Nationalists and Revolutionaries, she witnesses the most

suave of characteristic Oriental deception (between Feng Yu-shiang and the Hankow group) and yet believes implicitly her revolutionary informers; she sees "the entire labor code of the Soviet Union" used as strike demands in order "to acquaint the workers with the ultimate program which lay before them" (p. 40), yet seriously discusses platforms and resolutions of unions as representing the genuine insistent conviction of China's peasantry and workers; she admits the baiting, coercive, epidemic nature of "unionizing" (40 *et. al.*) yet seems to regard the rolling up thus of a 3,000,000 membership as being a *bona fide* indication of a truly spontaneous workers' and peasants' revolutionary labor movement (ch. vi.). Rightly used, it is a valuable book!

As the delineations of cultural change thus recede and disappear beneath the waves of one-sided interpretation of contemporary social conflicts, and we find no mass of restrained reports on the recent situation, we turn to sifted accounts of older conflicts. Clyde's exposition of the objectives, intrigues, and tactics of the Eastern and Western powers underlying the occurrences from 1689-1922 in that key position of the Far East, Manchuria, cuts clean below local irritations, provoked unrest, and the pawns of the game. It is the most balanced, scholarly, succinct account of major interests contending for power in that area.

In a measure the same may be said of Steiger's study of the Boxer rebellion of 1900. Claiming at the outset that "the fundamental causes of conflict between China and the West are to be found in the character of the Chinese state," he actually abandons such political monism for realistic investigation of that "midsummer madness," returning to the possibly prior attitude that the West was chiefly culpable for not penetrating behind the

drama to a clear understanding of Oriental society. Aside from such limitations, it stands out as a noteworthy and timely study of one of the most important political-cultural conflicts in recent Asiatic history. Its bibliographical note is exceptionally good.

In contrast to the record of Catholic missions' influence on the "awakening" of China which we need, the English reading public is here offered a brief reply to Protestant intimations that the recent appointment of six Chinese bishops was merely a concession to claimant nationalism. From the Aurora University, Shanghai, assurance is here given that the appointment is the natural flowering of China mission policy and is in line with all Catholic mission programs.

And finally, a brief reference history. Histories of China in English tend, if comprehensive, to devote only a couple

hundred pages to the general history of early China, or to restrict their scope to the political aspects of the modern period. Williams runs true to form. Even so, it is better to supplement the material on the earlier period and round out that on the latter by his own *China Yesterday and Today* than to take one or two professedly social-political histories of an inferior quality. His political treatment of the first European contacts and the Anglo-Chinese ("Opium") Wars should be supplemented, however, by Morse-MacNair or others; and his generalizations on the immediate future of China should be taken with reserve. While, as usual, not entirely free from prepossessions, this book by a judicial scholar of long residence in China, may be highly recommended with his other one as a minimum requirement for giving the student a perspective on current culture and change in China.

ORIGINS IN FOLKLORE

KATHARINE JOCHER

HOW THE GREAT RELIGIONS BEGAN. By Joseph Gaer, New York: McBride, 1929. 424 pp. \$3.00. Illustrated.

THE LONG BRIGHT LAND. By Edith Howes. Boston: Little, Brown, 1929. 207 pp. \$2.50. Illustrated.

FOLK TALES OF BRITTANY. By Elsie Masson. Ed. by Amena Pendleton. Philadelphia: Macrae-Smith, 1929. 191 pp. \$3.00. Illustrated.

LEGENDS OF THE SEVEN SEAS. By Margaret Evans Price. New York: Harper, 1929. 168 pp. \$2.50. Illustrated.

AMERICAN FOLK AND FAIRY TALES. Selected by Rachel Field. New York: Scribner, 1929. 302 pp. \$3.00. Illustrated.

NEW FOUND TALES. By Joseph B. Egan. Philadelphia: John C. Winston Co., 1929. 352 pp. Illustrated.

AFRICAN MYTHS. By Carter G. Woodson. Washington, D. C.; Associated Publishers, 1928. 184 pp. Illustrated.

In the Book League's introduction to *Joe Pete* by Florence E. McClinchey (Holt,

1929), the author is quoted as writing, "one never knows the Indians familiarly for they are too reserved. But they have come to know me and have told me much of their tales and legends. These were what I really was after until I realized that their lives were better stories than any they were telling me." This is perhaps true of any primitive folk, yet it is through their tales and legends, so intimately bound up with their everyday lives, upon which we must rely to get the picture of life as they see it. Doubtless there is much in the theory that folklore, and magic, and religion were the predecessors of modern scientific thinking and that man's intellectual development may be said to pass through Comte's three stages of the theological, the metaphysical, and the scientific, and that even now all

three stages are coexistent. As in *Joe Pett* a few characters may be drawn to symbolize the progress or degeneration of a people and to picture in general their present status, but it is through their beliefs, their magic, their legends that we get at origins. And it is origins—the motives and interpretations that lie behind the folkways and the mores, which dominate the social, the economic, and the moral life of a people—that help us to gain some estimate of and to place some evaluation upon the evolution of a group, even when cultures come into contact and into conflict with one another. These books, although intended primarily for young people, are therefore of value also to the student of society. And further, they are especially valuable to young people, since they provide them with a background for more advanced studies of society, as well as with the knowledge that there is in folklore a deeper meaning than merely delightful entertainment for an hour or two. Such books as these, too, might to a large extent be substituted for the vast number of so-called stories for children of a more or less transitory nature, since they are the foundation upon which to build a deep and sympathetic understanding of the great human family.

We might well ask how many origins of our own customs, beliefs, practices, attitudes, and even superstitions—for they are still active as well as manifold—can be traced back through folk tales such as these. We talk about "luck" or perchance "social incidence" while primitive man in his more concrete manner, personifies luck in charms, fetishes, etc., and in the gods with their varying forms of magic and worship. Monsters and dragons—huge, hideous things—especially those who carry on their nefarious business under cover of darkness and who cannot live in the light, are symbols of evil,

wickedness, disease and death; the innumerable number and variety of beneficent folk, usually dainty and small in stature, symbolize goodness, truth, health, happiness, and other virtues; while the pixies, hobgoblins, and sometimes the fairies, too, are mischievous folk who have been invented to reward good and punish evil, but who play queer tricks so that even good, honest folk must take heed not to incur their displeasure, through whom, sometimes the innocent suffer with the guilty. Since primitive man is poor and gets his living only by the sweat of his brow, poverty and industry are acclaimed virtues, and riches and indolence denounced as vices; while among us, the well-known Biblical phrase about the love of money continues to be frequently misquoted. Giants, a symbol of tyranny and strength, conquered only by magic and trickery, typify the unceasing struggle of brain versus brawn. But it is perhaps better for the tales to tell their own stories and for the reader to draw his own analogies.

In the opening paragraphs of *How the Great Religions Began*, Joseph Gaer tells us that the origin of religion was the attempt to answer man's importunate cry of Why? Where? Who? What? "Why does the sun shine in the daytime and not at night? Where does the sun go after nightfall? Why does the sickle moon grow fat and round from night to night? Where is the wind when it doesn't blow? Why does it always thunder after lightning? And who made all the things in the world?" (p. 2) These and many more questions which man asked from time to time about the world around him, about life, and about death, the inevitable "Story-teller" felt incumbent upon him to answer. In addition, man's fear that some vital part of the universe, such as the sun, might cease to function in its established order, as well as his desire to avoid calamity, disaster,

and death, marked the beginnings of worship and sacrifice, self-denial and atonement. *How the Great Religions Began* is divided into three books. Book One presents the religions of India: Buddhism, Jainism, Hindustan and its various forms of worship. Book Two takes up the religions of China and Japan: Confucianism, Taoism, and Shintoism; while Book Three discusses the advance of the monotheistic theory: Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity, Mohammedanism, the Reformation. In a brief concluding statement, Gaer distinguishes between the origin of the old religions that were born in fear and ignorance and the religions of our own time that were born "in an attempt to understand how people ought to live" and "in the duty of man to seek and follow the way of the Good Life," whether it be through Faith, Truth, or Knowledge.

The Long Bright Land by Edith Howes consists of myths, legends, and folk tales of the Maoris, those early, intrepid navigators of the Pacific. Their tales and prayers and proverbs were collected and translated by early missionaries to New Zealand, and it is "from their old books and from more recent work in the field of Polynesian mythology" that Miss Howes has drawn her tales. In these folk stories it is especially interesting to note the similarity of the Maori story of creation with that told in Genesis, and the Maori hero, Maui, whose origin is much like that of Moses and whose life features many incidents similar to those in the life of Jesus. In these stories, as in all folk tales, right always triumphs over wrong, mortals with magic on their side outwit the fairies, and there are stories of the ill treatment of the youngest brother by his two elder brothers that bespeak the origin of our later youngest brother and youngest sister fairy tales.

Elsie Masson states that these *Folk*

Tales of Brittany, which she has taken from the ancient folk songs of Barzaz-Breize, from oral tradition, and from translations, are "still characteristic of the tales told or sung in the farm houses, at weddings, and christenings in the Breton-speaking regions of Brittany, in spite of the disastrous influence of moving pictures and popular songs." The fifteen tales presented deal with the supernatural largely in the form of elves and hobgoblins who reward the good but frustrate the wicked. Various moods are depicted. "The Castle of Comorre" has rather gruesome aspects; "The Hunchback and the Elves" is quite amusing although it exemplifies the trickery of which the elves are capable; "The Country Bumpkin and the Hobgoblin" illustrates the doctrine that the innocent often suffer with the guilty; while "Yannik, The Fairy Child" embodies all the beauty and sweetness of a simple, but deeply reverend folk.

The unknown dangers and treacheries of the seas and the mysteries of their unfathomable depths have given rise to a host of fantastic explanations in the form of fascinating legends. Or, as Margaret Price points out in the Foreword to the *Legends of the Seven Seas*, perhaps added to the dangers and mysteries of the sea itself were the tales of monsters and terrors invented by the early traders in order to deter others from venturing out upon the unknown waters and thus sharing the rich harvest which the traders were eager to keep for themselves. But, in addition to these terrible and gruesome tales there developed later "in the South Pacific a more whimsical series of tales, less awe-inspiring, such stories as a child might weave," which have none of the gruesome qualities of the early Mediterranean legends, or the tragic sea tales of the Celt. The *Legends of the Seven Seas* include adaptations from the English, Irish, Chinese, Japanese,

Hawaiian, Southern Pacific, and others. Among these twenty-one tales are the age-old lure of the mermaid; the invisible Kobold who brings good luck to the mariner with whom he rides and who becomes visible only to those who are about to know a watery grave; a Japanese legend of the tides; how the seals shed their glossy black skins and become mortals under cover of darkness but resume their skins upon the first streak of dawn; the substitution of a sea-child for a mortal baby, common to many lands; and attempts to offer an explanation of cosmic evolution such as "How the Jellyfish Lost His Bones."

American Folk and Fairy Tales selected by Rachel Field is a collection of about a score of fascinating tales including Indian legends, Negro stories, Louisiana folk tales, Tony Beaver, Paul Bunyan stories, southern mountain stories, Irving's "Rip Van Winkle, and Hawthorne's "Great Stone Face." The Indian legends emphasize courage and cunning, the wisdom of age, and delightful explanations of cosmic evolution as "Why the Chipmunk's Back Is Striped" and "Why the Weasel Is White." Uncle Remus, although he chuckles over the clever cunning of Brer Rabbit, is particularly careful to make clear to "the little boy" that animals may lie, steal, and outwit one another with impunity but that "folks" who do such things will surely be punished. And the tales of the southern mountain-folk always reward virtue and punish evil. This selection makes one want to go back and read Uncle Remus all over again, or spend a delightful hour or two with John Sale's *The Tree Named John*, or shudder again at "Henty's Hant" in *Weather-goose-Woo* by Percy MacKaye. In her excellent preface to these tales, Miss Field mentions certain standards for folk and fairy tales, which it would be interesting to test. ". . .

they must possess a certain frankness and simplicity of idea. They must be direct and unhurried, yet also swift of action and salted and peppered liberally with talk and sayings,—the sort of racy, shrewd, humorous sayings we do not forget as we forget those of ten out of the dozen books we may read. Then, too, it seems to me there is always an element of the supernatural, or at least of the impossible in all folklore." And her selection meets these requirements.

". . . only those rare and beautiful stories that have the splendor of the spirit shining through; stories of goodness and joy and sacrifice; stories that form a golden setting for those qualities of the heart that mankind has always held most worthy of respect,—"the unselfish deed, the act of charity, the doings of the honest man"—only tales such as these have been included by Joseph B. Egan in his *New Found Tales*. He has reproduced for us more than three score ten stories from many lands and peoples including the North American Indian, the Esquimo, the Mexican, the Australian, the New Zealander, the African, the Berber, the Moslem, the Persian, the Greek, the Italian, the German, the Swiss, the English, the Celtic, the Norwegian, the Danish, the Russian, the Hindu, the Hawaiian, etc. The tales are told simply and concisely, nearly all of them being less than a half dozen pages in length. Especially interesting are the five stories of the Lawyer of Samarcand.

African Myths by Carter Woodson is designed for a supplementary reader to be used by school children. Many of these tales are the primitive African's explanation of cosmic evolution, such as "Creation," "How Animals Came into the World," "Why the Hippopotamus Lives in the Water," and others. Although these African stories, like other folk tales,

emphasize the reward of virtue and the punishment of wickedness, they frequently deal with the cunning of animals as do the tales of the American Negro, and probably are the foundation for some of these later stories told by their descendants in a far country.

The format of these books is to be commended. They are printed well, beautifully illustrated, and attractively, as well as substantially, bound. And while they will delight as well as instruct youth, they will provide profitable and entertaining reading also for "the elders of the land."

ARE SAVAGES MORAL?

BERNHARD J. STERN

THE SEXUAL LIFE OF SAVAGES. (In Northwestern Melanesia.) By Bronislaw Malinowski. Introduction by Havelock Ellis. New York: Horace Liveright (London: George Routledge & Sons), 1929. 2 vols., 603 pp. \$10.00. Illustrated.

The study of the sexual life of primitive peoples has unfortunately too often been approached by "survival" mongers, "origin" hunters, and dealers in "culture contacts" who have vitiated their findings by their preconceived theories and classifications. From Lewis Henry Morgan to Westermarck and Briffault, the emphasis has been on a comparative evolutionary perspective for the modern family rather than on an attempt to make a definitive study of primitive sex life *per se*. These investigators looked for external similarities and differences of behavior to place in comparative categories which resulted in the snatching of cultural forms from their intricate cultural setting to the neglect of their complex psychological concomitants.

Malinowski has followed the trend of contemporary anthropologists by divorcing himself from this method. He has concentrated on the sexual behavior of the natives of the Trobriand Islands of British New Guinea, with whom he resided for a few years in intimate contact. His information was not obtained through the mechanical pumping of informants, by getting answers to half-understood

questions. But as one who knew their language and who was recognized as a personal friend he gained insight into the most subtle aspects of social relationships. In the two volumes of this book, he has given his findings in full detail supplementing the rather bare materials which he presented in his earlier suggestive works. Recognizing that sex cannot be abstracted from its setting, he first considers questions of social organization and the legal, economic, and religious background of the relations between husband and wife, parents and children, the associations of the natives and their diversions in private and in public, at work and at play, in magical and religious pursuits. He then follows the progress of courtship to marriage and parenthood in its normal and divergent forms, and finally describes the dalliance of lovers in all its phases, at closer quarters, in an exhaustive, frank manner. The author has skillfully avoided both sensationalism and prudish restraint. Emancipated from the conventional taboos and rigid prejudices which distort the observations of many investigators, he has been able to follow the ramifications of his subject into uncharted areas. The result is a valuable document, interesting not only because of the inherent fascination of the subject matter but also because of the keen discernment and subtlety of the author.

The volumes are not discursions into an-

thropological theory. Yet in the light of the careful documentation given, a few popular concepts which other anthropologists have also challenged, are shown to be untenable. Chief among these is the insistence on the savages' "slavish subservience to custom" which is dramatically contradicted by the evidence which indicates that moral rules are by no means absolutely rigid or automatic in savage society but are observed in only an approximate manner. Also, reference to some hypothetical earlier stage—the pet delight of evolutionary anthropologists—is found unnecessary to explain any of the existing forms of sexual relationships among the Melanesians.

The natives emerge from the ethnographer's spotlight with a morality "approximating that of the average European." Malinowski reaches a conclusion similar to the thesis of Professor Lowie's recent book *Are We Civilized*: "The savage measured by standards of aesthetics, morality and manners displays the same human frailties, imperfections, and strivings as a member of any civilized community"—no more, no less.

VOCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY AND CHARACTER ANALYSIS:
By H. L. Hollingworth. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1929. 409 pp. \$3.00.

It is now universally recognized that adequate vocational guidance is of primary importance in relation to social welfare. The individual who secures employment of a sort suited to his peculiar aptitudes and characteristic emotional tendencies benefits economically and esthetically. Also, as has been repeatedly shown, a properly selected vocation serves a mental hygiene function in fostering the development and stabilization of personality.

Dr. Hollingworth's excellent book is a thoroughly successful attempt to describe

and evaluate the existing techniques employed in vocational guidance and selection. It is not a manual of personnel procedures but a detailed presentation of the more significant experimental data bearing on all phases of the general problem.

It is clear from the study that vocational psychology has advanced tremendously during the last fifteen years. However, it is equally clear that the progress has been uneven, many critical problems remaining unsolved. In Dr. Hollingworth's opinion, further advance depends upon the perfection of new forms of "objective measures," especially in connection with vocational interests and emotional biases. Any phase of guidance which depends upon "subjective" judgment has been shown to be open to serious sources of error. Furthermore, it is demonstrated that those undertaking to give vocational guidance should have a mastery of scientific method and a command of the literature of the subject.

Dr. Hollingworth's book is organized in the conventional way. Following brief chapters on aims and the history of vocational guidance, several traditional techniques are discussed. Among these are phrenology, the letter of application, self-analysis, and others of less importance. There follows a thoroughly intelligible discussion of various testing methods with a critical summary of results obtained to this time. A brief discussion of essential mathematical procedures and a chapter on vocational aptitudes of women conclude the volume.

To the present reviewer it appears that Dr. Hollingworth has prepared the best study of vocational psychology now available. His work is marked by a fine critical insight and by a clear and interesting literary style.

ENGLISH BAGBY.

University of North Carolina.

A SOCIAL INTERPRETATION OF EDUCATION. By Joseph K. Hart. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1929. 458 pp. \$4.50 (Student's Edition \$3.60).

According to Dr. Hart the true product of education is a thoroughly integrated personality. Such a personality is not developed in our schools, efficient as they are supposed to be, but if found at all, is rather "the resultant of the whole community's endless impacts upon the growing individual." There has been considerable advance in educational theory since the days of John Locke but our practice is largely dictated by tradition and revered maxims. Changes in theory have little value unless they result in changes of habits and practices. Instruction that aims only at increasing the informational content of the child's mind, no matter how thoroughly standardized the information given may be, unless this information is brought into close integration with the child's community interests and activities, will do little else than "turn him into an automaton." The product of our schools as at present constituted is intellectual rather than intelligent.

Dr. Hart is severely critical of our present day school practice, but while this is true he is also essentially constructive in his criticism. He points the way for an approach to the study of education for the future that is at once clear and definite. The pupil is five or six hours in the school and twenty-four in the community. There must be an integration of all the factors that make for education of the child that are found in the community life, whether such community life is local, national, or possibly international, with those of the school. Just what these factors are, just what must be preserved and what cast aside, that the product of the school may be "an intelligent, open-

minded, unprejudiced sharer in the common tasks of civilization," Dr. Hart sees as the subject matter for a newer investigation of educational means and practices.

G. O. MUDGE.

Raleigh, North Carolina.

SMALL TOWNS: AN ESTIMATE OF THEIR TRADE AND CULTURE. By Walter Burr. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929. 267 pp. \$2.50.

A penetrating analysis of the small town problem in America and its relation to the rural and urban life of the nation in the light of its economic-historic background. Tracing the conflict of rural and urban cultures to their environment, relative numbers, and means of communication, the author explains the dominance of urban culture in our civilization. But he is not at all pessimistic about the future. He asks for the rural life of the country not paternalism and philanthropic uplift—which are not needed—but merely understanding on the part of urban leaders. The rural-urban exodus, which has occurred simultaneously with the introduction of large-scale scientific farming and improved standards of living, has acted as an agency for closing up the breach between rural and urban civilization, and with hopeful omens for the future. Through a fusion of the new rural and urban cultures seen in present trends of migration, communication, and transportation, the author sees the development of a new culture which holds promise of better days ahead. With reference to the "ideal community" he stresses the fact that there is no absolute pattern for all, but that all efforts toward community improvement must be determined on the basis of existing local situations. The problem is one of awakening and releasing resident forces within the community

for progressive action, and this must be done in terms of the historical setting and natural environment of the individual community.

Contrary to the traditional viewpoint that an increase in population is an infallible mark of progress, he attacks the fallacy of the argument that a decrease in rural population is a sure sign of the decadence of rural life in America. Rather, he states, does the movement indicate a wholesome redistribution of the population—as determined by new conditions of scientific farming and industrial enterprise—between rural and urban dwellers (agricultural producers and industrial consumers) with a balanced equilibrium that promises greater prosperity for each. In contrast to the traditional picture of desolation in deserted rural territory, Burr draws a picture of the new rural community in which standards of living have been much improved, agricultural production has not decreased, and farm business is organized on a much sounder and more scientific basis than formerly. This does not seem to indicate, as some maintain, that the best blood has been skimmed off the country through the selective process of the city which leaves only the inferior, less promising ones behind, but may just as well indicate that the inefficient rural dwellers have been sifted out by the force of necessity through the inability to succeed under the standards set by the new competition.

The term "community" as used by the author applies to a geographic territory which includes all those who have common economic and social interests—centering around the incorporated town as a center, but including also its surrounding trade territory, the inhabitants of which use the local town services and institutions. The boundary lines of the early American community were small, due to

limited means of transportation and communication. But the traditional walls have been broken down, and the further enlargement of the community is still in process. All things considered, that community will be most successful which adapts its life to this trend, for the community rendering most adequate service to its natural territory, according to the law of competition, will be the most likely to survive.

All success in political, economic, and social life of the nation as a whole is dependent in the last analysis upon the basic elements which compose that national life—namely the local communities scattered over the nation. We build the nation by building the community, and we build the community by building its institutions—the recognized organizations which society has set up for accomplishing its various functions—Government, Business, the School, the Church, the Home—as the national standards in each of these fields of human relationships will be only what the local community makes them. In the last half of the book the author takes up the discussion of methods of improving the institutional life of the community—its economic and business life, which is fundamental to all the rest; its local government, especially county government; its health, through public health organization; its educational institutions, especially as related to community life and problems; and finally its churches, through improved leadership and a socialized religion. On the whole, the book is a most valuable and stimulating contribution to the interpretation of that part of American life which is most fundamental to national progress, but which has been most seriously neglected in the past—namely, the small town community.

INA V. YOUNG.

University of North Carolina.

MEN AND MACHINES. By Stuart Chase. New York: Macmillan, 1929. 354 pp. \$2.50. Illustrated.

Assuming the rôle of a "statistical Don Quixote," Stuart Chase has attempted to define and refine our judgments on the very important problem of the relation of the machine to man and society. He does so with his customary zest and knack for marshalling relevant facts in a style that ranges from racy vernacular to tabular classifications that will delight the most exacting of academicians, interspersed with passages of dramatic prose-poetry. His objective is to dispense with blanket denunciation and uncritical praise of the machine, to analyse and to weigh conflicting evidence without parroting shibboleths on this controversial subject. He first looks into the anatomy of the machine and presents a popular history of its development from naïve beginnings through the time of James Watt to the mechanical man. But his main concern is not with its technology and history but with the machine's influence on man's every-day life. He pursues the ramifications of his subject from the contact of man with the machine and its psychological effects to the effect of the machine on social relations in play as well as in work, in war as well as in peace.

The futility of broad generalizations for and against the machine as it impinges directly on human beings, is amply conveyed in Chase's exposition. Machines do not universally make robots of men although factory speed-up devices are increasing the number of automatic processes. In some instances, they give men a sense of power (*vide*, a college professor driving his Ford). Yet here the author, giving a middle-class intellectual's reaction to the machine, overstates his case. He gives the romantic misimpression that there are legions of men like the "right-thinking suburbanite" whom he describes

in an autobiographical vein as having "his oil burning furnace, his sleeping-porch, shower-bath, radio, davenport, garage, kiddies'-room, open-fire, electric refrigerator and cocktail shaker." Also, in his anxiety to dispel the gloom mongers, he implies that the factory worker "confronts machinery for two, five, eight hours a day" only, disregarding available statistical evidence that workers in most of the plants in the steel, textile and other basic industries are before the machine ten or more hours daily. He wavers badly in his discussion of technological unemployment. Apologetic at first with the traditional argument that workers eliminated in the factory "only run around and climb aboard the product on its way from the factory door to the ultimate consumer", he finally acknowledges that the "blotting paper industries" will soak up no more men and that accelerating unemployment, with its attendant wretchedness and despair, is with us. He fails to note the obvious result of this situation in terms of the development of social classes as shown by recent studies of vertical mobility, for in a later exuberant moment he declares "there are no fixed classes in America, and this is becoming increasingly the case for the western world." In spite of an optimistic tone when treating the indictments of the machine on the grounds of producing robots, causing a loss of handicraft skill, social standardization, degeneration in the quality of goods, the development of unrewarding forms of play and accelerating unemployment, he is unable to argue away the menaces of mechanized warfare, technological tenuousness due to mechanical over-specialization and the drain on natural resources. His description of the horrors of "the two-hour war" is intensely vivid; his picture of the predicament of the White Plains clerk when he discovers

that "faucets do not manufacture water, nor delicatessen stores food," a tragic comedy; his prognosis as to natural resources devastating in its despair.

The author is not uncritical of the existing economic system which he characterizes as "the economy of a mad-house." The machine and the terrific Power Age which it has produced are not intrinsically baneful but it is the profit-motive setting of the machine that has distorted its use to bring untold wealth and power to a few, only incidentally to better the condition of some others, and to make millions of workers industrial slaves. When Chase returned from Soviet Russia, he wrote enthusiastically of the work of the Soviet State Planning Commission (the Gosplan) as an example of how order can be substituted for chaos in the control of the machine and the distribution of its products for the benefit of the masses. Unfortunately, here, he merely mentions that Russia "regards the workman as a human being for whose benefit the wheels of industry are principally turning" and only casually refers to the Gosplan without indicating its tremendous scope and accomplishment. When discussing how to make the machine capitulate to man, in place of a description of this functioning agency that is actually harnessing "a billion wild horses," he prefers to engage in admitted phantasy in the manner of H. G. Wells. The "statistical Don Quixote" puts aside his statistics to become a mere romantic!

BERNHARD J. STERN.

University of Washington.

THE USEFUL ART OF ECONOMICS. By George Soule.
New York: Macmillan, 1928. 250 pp.

Lack of agreement upon a common economic objective has, especially since the War, been a major obstacle to the formation of a real liberal party in the United

States. For a liberal party, to be successful, must necessarily number among its adherents many who, at present, possess only a desultory training in economics. Mr. Soule, although he has not consciously sought to do so, has set forth in outline an analysis of and a series of proposals relative to our national economy with the essentials of which liberal thinkers will agree.

Mr. Soule is "concerned merely with the tools man may use to master the economic jungle" and "with establishing an understanding of the need for such tools and the possibility of devising them." He is severe with the popularizers who, knowing neither economics nor economists, drag in the "superficial misconception" known as "economic law" to support an obviously sick *status quo*. He demonstrates that an economist can write of economic problems without automatically vaccinating the reader against moral indignation and effective action as do so many of the current textbooks. He makes of economics both a science and an interesting and salutary art.

The book is well planned. In the second chapter the reader has "A Look at The National Plant." In the three following chapters he learns under what conditions the plant can be kept running steadily, whether the plant can make more goods, and if so, the goods we really want. Having made it apparent in general that the "unseen hand" does not guide efficiently the author directs attention to those "specially sore spots" in the national plant, agriculture, housing, the textile and soft coal industries, wherein the policy of *laissez faire* has failed most conspicuously. In the two final chapters the author treats of existing and potential instruments for the social control of business and analyzes the seeds of Utopianism implicit in the existing economic system.

Mr. Soule stresses the need of knowing how our economic system behaves and of adjusting changes in its administration and control to what has been observed. His approach to problems is similar in spirit to that of the series of able studies produced by the Institute of Economics.

The book is not satisfactory as a textbook. It ought, however, to be read by all laymen who desire to vote intelligently and by all students in elementary economics, for Mr. Soule writes brilliantly and integrates the study of economics with life. The average textbook, on the contrary, usually leaves the student a clumsy juggler of unreal concepts who knows little and understands even less of the economic world that is.

A wide reading of Mr. Soule's book should crystallize and direct confused liberal opinion, as well as indicate to economists how textbooks should be written. In fact, were the average textbook as lucidly written and as vitally instinct with real economic life as *The Useful Art of Economics* the trade of economist would be respected. His advice would be followed and the American national plant would soon be operated efficiently.

JOSEPH J. SPENGLER

Ohio State University.

WHY WE MISBEHAVE. By Samuel D. Schmalhausen.
New York: Macaulay, 1928. 313 pp. \$3.00.

This book has been widely advertised and has been among the "best sellers" of the non-fiction group. It has been extravagantly praised and equally condemned. One does not have to read far to discover why. The author is not only daring in thought, but somewhat flamboyant in style. Especially when speaking of the newer phases of sex ethics he sometimes swings close to the edge of vulgarity, apparently lacking the ability of Havelock Ellis to put his unconven-

tional thoughts on sexual matters in meaningful but poetical phrases. The obvious efforts that have been made to attract public attention to this book by calling attention to its "sexy" character leads one to view it with suspicion.

The material falls into two major categories. One might be headed, "Our changing sex mores," with the subheading, "A plea for greater freedom in love." The other might be labeled, "The contributions of the revised psychoanalysis to psychology, with some reflections on its significance for education." While in general agreement with the author on what he has to say under the first heading, one is painfully aware of the narrow range of the author's vision. He wants more and freer sex expression for everybody, but he never bothers to raise any of the really serious problems involved therein for the vast majority of individuals. It is true that the center of gravity in sex matters is shifting "from procreation to recreation." But we may reasonably assume that families will continue. In that case there are numerous problems of premarital and marital adjustment which are in fact profoundly difficult of solution in view of our social tradition, the differences of the rôles of the sexes in reproduction, and the differences in potential freedom resulting therefrom. These the author ignores.

The material under the second of our captions is both valuable, less repetitious, and more sober in style. It contains numerous pertinent suggestions as to the actual contributions of psychiatry and psychoanalysis to our understanding of ourselves, and makes what seems to be a real contribution in developing the thesis that a sense of what he calls "personality deficit" is at the basis of much psychoneurotic behavior.

FRANK H. HANKINS.

Smith College.

NEW BOOKS RECEIVED

- THE NEW EDUCATION IN THE GERMAN REPUBLIC.** By Thomas Alexander and Beryl Parker. New York: John Day, 1929. 387 pp. \$4.00.
- THE RURAL COMMUNITY.** Publications of the American Sociological Society, Vol. XXIII. Papers and Proceedings, 23d Annual Meeting, American Sociological Society, Chicago, December 26-29, 1928. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929. 416 pp. \$2.00.
- A STUDY IN UNDERGRADUATE ADJUSTMENT.** By Robert Cooley Angell. Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1930. 164 pp. \$2.00.
- THE MAKING OF A NATION.** By Harry Elmer Barnes, Elisabeth Anthony Dexter, Mabel Gregory Walker. New York: Knopf, 1929. 748 pp. \$3.25.
- BOOKS AS WINDOWS.** By May Lamberton Becker. New York: Stokes, 1929. 229 pp. \$2.00.
- EUROPE SINCE 1914.** By F. Lee Bennis. New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1930. 671 pp. \$5.00.
- INDIA.** Ed. by D. R. Bhandarkar. Philadelphia: Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, September, 1929. Part II, 203 pp. \$1.00 paper; \$1.50 cloth.
- A DETERMINATION OF GENERALIZATIONS BASIC TO THE SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM.** By Neal Billings. Baltimore: Warwick and York, 1929. 289 pp. \$3.00.
- PRODUCTION ORGANIZATION.** By John D. Black and Albert G. Black. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1926. 646 pp. \$3.75.
- TWELVE AGAINST THE GODS.** (The story of adventure.) By William Bolitho. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1929. 351 pp. \$4.00.
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CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK TO BE IN BOSTON

The fifty-seventh annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work and Associate Groups will take place in Boston June 6 to 14. More than forty groups in various fields of social work will meet at that time. The Conference will be formally opened on the evening of June 8 by a presidential address given by Dr. Miriam Van Waters, referee of the Los Angeles Juvenile Court.

The Conference has met before in Boston, in 1881 and in 1911. Begun originally in 1874 as an organization for the discussion of problems common to boards of state charities, it has grown into a general gathering of social forces, with representatives from fields concerning immigration, family case work, health, neighborhood life, dependency, delinquency, mental hygiene, and industrial and economic problems.

Attendance at the Conference is open to any who wish to come. Headquarters will be at the Statler Hotel. Evening sessions will be at the Boston Gardens. Special rates will be offered Conference members for round-trip tickets. Hotel reservations should be made immediately with J. Paul Foster, 80 Federal Building, Boston. Requests for further information may be sent to Howard R. Knight, General Secretary, National Conference of Social Work, 277 East Long Street, Columbus, Ohio.